1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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Translation

539*
796*

I

289 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

290 Were ruwawa, were ruwawa.
were, they; a number of persons or animals.
ruwawa, running from, as from the place where one is standing or where one is walking.

291 Sira ritka ruwawa.
sira, their.
ritka, dust; the soil raised by the feet in running.
ruwawa, running away from.

292 Were ruwawa. See line 290.

293 Sira ritka ruwawa-a ra.
sira ritka ruwawa. See lines 290, 291.
a ra, vocables used to fill out the rhythm of the music.

II

294 He-e-e-e! An introductory exclamation.

295 Were hara-a, were hara-a.
were, one coming; we, one, it, singular number; ra, coming.
hara-a, a composite word made up of the syllable ha, from the word iha'ra, the young of animals (the word is also used for offspring, children) and ra, coming. The final a is a vowel prolongation to fill the rhythm of the music.

296 Taraha-a rahara.
taraha, the female buffalo.
a, vowel prolongation because of the rhythm of the music.
rahara, a composite word; ra, from were, one coming; ha, from iha'ra, young; ra, coming. The line "Taraha-a rahara" means that the female buffalo and her calf are coming.

297 Were hara-a. See line 295.

298 Taraha-a rahara-a ra. See lines 293, 296.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

While we were traveling we sometimes saw a great cloud of dust rising in the distance. When we saw this cloud rolling up from the earth we knew it was caused by a herd of buffalo running away from us toward the land of the Children.

Sometimes a cow and her calf would separate from the herd and come nearer us. We were taught to be mindful of all that we saw upon the journey, for these sights meant the promise of plenty of food for the Children. [787]

We do not sing this song any more as we travel, for now there are no buffalo herds to be seen sending the dust up to the sky as they run. We sing the song in the lodge of the Son, that we may remember the buffalo, and that our children may hear of them. [177]

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492 **Ruhurihi hitkasharu!**
ruhurihi, a command, a call; "let it be so!"
hitkasharu. See line 491.
493 **Ruhurihi!** See line 492.
494 See line 492.
495 See line 493.

539* 796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We sing about the visions which the birds on the feathered stems are to bring to the Children.

539* 796* 987

Visions come from above, they are sent by Tirs'wa atius. The lesser powers come to us in visions. We receive help through the visions. All the promises which attend the Hako will be made good to us in this way.

Visions can come most readily at night; spirits travel better at that time. Now when we are met together we, the Fathers, call upon the visions to come to the Children.

The spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems join our spirits in this call to the visions. That is what the words of this stanza mean. We sing it four times as we make the first circuit of the lodge.

When we reach the west we pause.

539* 796*

Translation of Second Stanza

496 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
497 Hitkasharu! The visions that attend the Hako. See line 491.
498 Weri rawha hitkasharu!
weri, they.
rawha, are coming.
hitkasharu, the visions which attend the Hako.
499 Weri rawha! See line 498.
500 See line 498.
501 See line 499.

Explanation by the Ku'rahu

As we go around the lodge the second time we sing this stanza.

The visions have heard the call of the spirits of the birds upon the feathered stems, joined to the call of our spirits, and they are descending by the east from their dwelling place above, and are coming toward the lodge.

We sing "They are coming," and the Children join in the song, as we pass around and wave the feathered stems.

When we reach the west we pause.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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Translation of First Stanza

*539 672 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 673 Whitit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.
whitit, it is believed, it is supposed. The word implies a question with the desire to know the truth of the belief.
kasharu, a composite word; ka, from rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions.
ha! behold!
kira, accomplished or brought to pass.
rehra, I hold standing; present tense.
wi, from wiriť, an article swinging. The word tells that the article which the person stands holding is swinging in his hand; this refers to the rhythmic swaying of the feathered stems during the singing of the songs of the ceremony.
674 See line 673.
675 Ta hao!
ta, a part of kutatí, my.
hao, offspring; my own child. The term refers to the Son.
676 Hiri! Hako-o!
hiri! give heed; harken.
Hako-o; Hako, the sacred articles of the ceremony; o, vowel prolongation.
677 See line 673.
678 See line 675.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This stanza asks about the origin of the Hako, about the account
*796 which has come down to us that the Hako and its ceremonies were sent by the powers above to our fathers through a vision.
773 We have been taught that in a vision our fathers were told how to
● 787 make the feathered stems, how to use them, how to sway them to the songs, so that they should move like the wings of a bird in its flight. It was in a vision that our fathers were told how they could cause a man who was not their bodily offspring to become a Son, to be bound to them by a tie as strong as the natural tie between father and son.

For this knowledge our fathers gave thanks and we give thanks, for by this ceremony peace and plenty, strength, and all good things come to the people.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 679 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 680 Kutit kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi.
kutit, it is; an assertion. The word gives a definite answer to the implied question in the first word of the first stanza, whitit. The belief, the supposition, is declared to be the truth.
kasharu, ha! kira rehra wi. See line 673.

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681 See line 680.
682 See line 675.
683 Hiri! Hako-o! See line 676.
684 See line 680.
685 See line 675.

539*
796*

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This stanza tells the Children that it is true that the knowledge of this ceremony was given to our fathers by the powers above through a vision. We speak of the vision as kasharu, because visions are apt to come in the night when all is still; they then descend, pass over the earth, and come to man.

This stanza also tells that the man to whom we have brought the Hako is to be made a Son in the way our fathers were directed in the vision.

None of the songs of this ceremony can be changed; they must be sung accurately, just as they have been handed down to us, for the words speak of the powers above and their gifts to us, and we must be careful of such words.

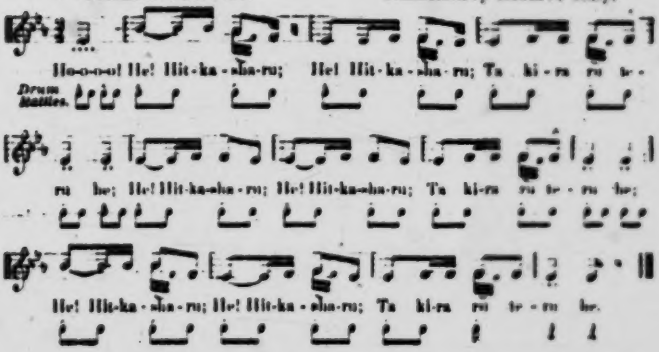
539*
796*
773
787

SECOND SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

539*
796*
[533*]



I

686 Heoooo!
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
688 Ta kira ru teru he;
689 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
690 Ta kira ru teru he;
691 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
692 Ta kira ru teru he.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539
*796

II

686 Ho-o-o-o!
684 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
685 Ta kira te ra-a he;
686 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
687 Ta kira te ra-a he;
688 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu;
689 Ta kira te ra-a he.

Translation

I

686 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
687 He! Hitkasharu; He! Hitkasharu.
he, an exclamation calling attention to a subject or a teaching.
hitkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather, referring to the birds that attend the Hako; ha, part of rotkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. This composite word refers to the visions or dreams brought by the birds that are associated with the Hako.
688 Ta kira ru teru he.
ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
ru, it, the rite, or ceremony.
teru, is; the entire ceremony with its promises
he, vocable.
689 See line 687.
690 See line 688.
691 See line 687.
692 See line 688.

II

693 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
694 See the first stanza, line 687.
695 Ta kira te ra-a he.
ta, verily.
kira, brought to pass.
te, it; the good promised through the ceremony.
ra-a, is coming.
he, vocable.
696 See line 687.
697 See line 695.
698 See line 687.
699 See line 695.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

*539 In this song we are told that verily it is a truth that everything pertaining to this ceremony came through a vision. All the good, all the
*796 happiness that comes to those who take part in these rites have been
787 promised in a dream, and the dreams which brought this ceremony
823 and its promises came from the east; they always descend from above by that path.

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539*
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787●

Were it not true that these dreams come to us and bring us all the good things promised our fathers, we should long ago have abandoned the Hako and its ceremony.

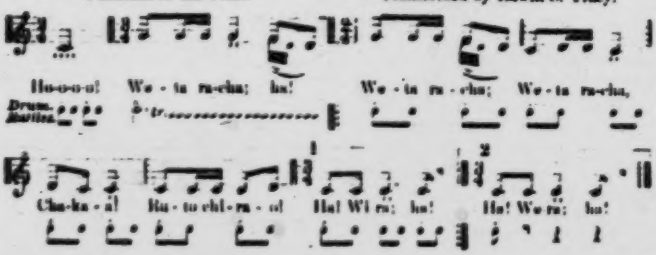
This song says to the Children: "As you listen you will have dreams brought you by the birds represented with the Hako. The visions will bring you help; they will bring you happiness. They are coming to you from the east."

SONG TO THE PLEIADES

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♩ = 116.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



700 Weta racha; ha!
701 Weta racha; weta racha;
702 Chaka-a!
703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira; ha!
704 Weta racha; weta racha;
705 Chaka-a!
706 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wera; ha!

Translation

700 Weta racha, ha!
weta, coming, advancing.
racha, rising, moving upward.
ha! look! Behold!

701 Weta racha; weta racha;
weta racha. See line 700.

702 Chaka-a! The name of the Pleiades.

703 Ruto chirao! Ha! Wira, ha!
ruto, it is. "It" refers to the coming of the constellation.
chirao, good, well.
ha! behold!
wira, wera, them coming.
ha! behold!

704 Weta racha; weta racha; See line 700.

705 Chaka-a! See line 702.

706 Ha! Wera; ha! See line 703.

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NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

V

727 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
728 He! Hitshkasharu kitta sha-a; ha!
he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.
hitshkasharu; hit, from hittu, feather; sh, feminine prefix; ka from rutkaharu, night; sharu, dreams, visions. The composite word refers to the visions which pertain to the promises of the Hako ceremony.
kitta, the top; refers to the locality of Katasha, the dwelling place of the visions.
sha, lying down, as to rest.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
729 See line 728.
730 Hari! Kitta sha-a; ha!
hari, truly; plural number.
kitta sha-a; ha! See line 728.
731 See line 728.

VI

732 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
733 He! Hitkasharu shkitta sha-a; ha!
he! an exclamation calling attention to a teaching.
hitkasharu, feather night dreams. See line 713.
shkitta, sh, feminine prefix; kitta, the top.
sha, lying down, reposing.
a, vowel prolongation.
ha! behold!
734 See line 733.
735 Hari! Shkitta sha-a; ha! See lines 730, 733.
736 See line 733.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

Visions come in the night, for spirits can travel better by night than by day. Visions come from Katasha, the place where they dwell. This place is up in the sky, just below where Tira'wa atius appointed the dwelling place of the lesser powers (eighth ritual, part 1, second song). Katasha, the place where the visions dwell, is near the dwelling place of the lesser powers, so they can summon any vision they wish to send to us. When a vision is sent by the powers, it descends and goes to the person designated, who sees the vision and hears what it has to say; then, as day approaches, the vision ascends to its dwelling place, Katasha, and there it lies at rest until it is called again.

This song tells about Katasha, where the visions dwell. This is its story:

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*539 A holy man who lived long ago, no one knows how long, for there
*796 have been many generations since, had a dream. He was taken up to
● 787 the place where all the visions dwell, those that belong to Kawas, the
brown eagle, and those that belong to the white eagle, the male.
773 While he was there the day began to dawn and he saw the visions that
had been sent down to earth come climbing up, and he recognized
among them some of the visions that had visited him in the past.
Then he knew of a truth that all visions of every kind dwell above
in Katasha, and that they descend thence to us in the night, and that
as the day dawns they ascend, returning to rest in their dwelling place.

The holy man made this song about his dream and told its meaning,
and the song and the story have been handed down to us, that we
might know where visions come from, where they dwell and where
they go to when they depart from us.

778 Among the Pawnees there are shrines, in the keeping of certain men,
which contain articles that are used in the sacred ceremonies of the
different bands of the tribe. These shrines are very old, they were
given by the lesser powers to our fathers with a knowledge of their
contents and how to use them.

An ear of corn belongs to one of these shrines. It is a peculiar ear.
It is white, with perfect and straight lines of kernels, and there is a
[243] tassel on its tip. In the fall the priest of the shrine tells the women
to look carefully for such ears when they gather their corn, for
Tira'wa causes such ears to grow in the fields for the purposes of
this shrine and they belong to it. The little tassel on the tip of the
[726] ear of corn represents the feather worn on the head of the warrior.
The sacred ear of corn is sometimes borrowed from the priest by the
leader of a war party. The ear of corn is born of Mother Earth, she
knows all places and the acts of all men who walk the earth, so she is
a leader.

726 Sometimes a young man who proposed going to war would request
the following song to be sung. He desired success and wished Mother
778 Corn to lead him. After the Hako ceremony was over he would
borrow a sacred ear of corn and put it in a pack which the leader of
the war party would sling upon his back. When the party was suc-
cessful, he would thrust into the ground the stick upon which the ear
of corn was tied and as this ear stood before him he would give thanks
to it for having led him in safety.

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Hako travels—the red path. The woodpecker is wise and careful, and, that it may not get angry and be warlike on the Hako, its upper mandible is turned back over its red crest.

The Hako ceremony was given in a vision, and all these things, such as the dispute between the turkey and the woodpecker, were made known to our fathers in a vision.

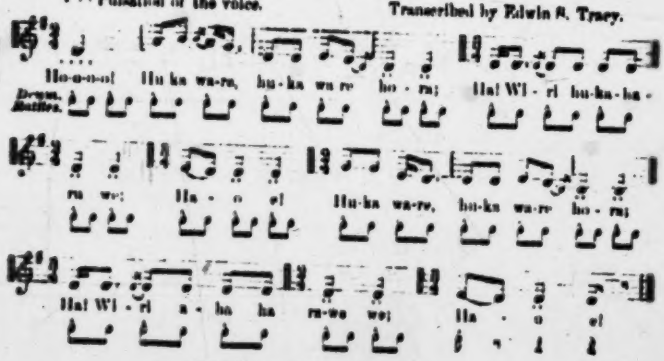
THE SONG OF THE DUCK

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 104.

• • : Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



828 Ho-o-o-o!
829 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we;
831 Hao e!
832 Huka ware, huka ware hora;
833 Ha! Wiri aha ha rawe we;
834 Hao e!

Translation

828 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
829 Huka ware, huka ware hora.
huka, a part of the word hukaharu, valley, a valley through which a stream is flowing.
ware, a part of teware, flying.
hora, a part of the word horaru, the earth, the land
830 Ha! Wiri hukaharu we.
ha! behold!
wiri, it is.
hukaharu, a valley through which a stream flows.
we, they; refers to the young of the duck.
831 Hao e!
hao, offspring.
e, vocable.
832 See line 829.

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Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

*539 *796 In this stanza the Children reply: "It is well for us that you are here with the complete Hako!"

The Fathers sing these words, but they are really from the Children.

FOURTEENTH RITUAL (THIRD NIGHT). INVOKING THE VISIONS OF THE ANCIENTS

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

[787] This ceremony was given to our fathers in a vision, and to our fathers the promise was made that dreams bringing happiness would be brought to the Children by the birds that are with the Hako. This promise given to our fathers is always fulfilled; happiness always comes with the Hako, and the Children have visions.

When the ceremony is near the end (the third night) we sing this song, for we remember the visions of our fathers, the holy men to whom was taught this ceremony. We ask that the visions which came to them may come again to us.

SONG

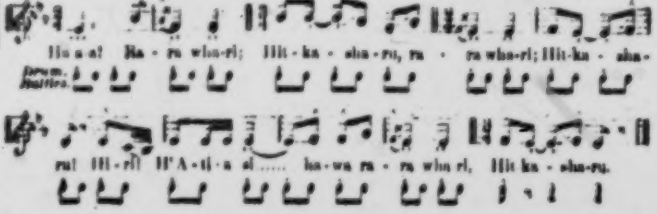
Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 126.

· · Pulsation of the voice.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



I

840 Ha-a-a!
841 Rara whari;
842 Hitkasharu, rara whari;
843 Hitkasharu!
844 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whari,
845 Hitkasharu.

II

854 Ha-a-a!
855 Rara wha-a;
856 Hitkasharu, rara wha-a;
857 Hitkasharu!
858 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara wha-a,
859 Hitkasharu.

III

860 Ha-a-a!
861 Rara whicha;
862 Hitkasharu, rara whicha;
863 Hitkasharu!
864 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara whicha,
865 Hitkasharu.

IV

866 Ha-a-a!
867 Rara ruka;
868 Hitkasharu, rara ruka;
869 Hitkasharu!
870 Hiri! H'Atia si hawa rara ruka,
871 Hitkasharu.

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424
796*

to the Ku'rahus who taught me. Besides I had to promise him that I would not give the teachings away, but would hold them as they had been held, teaching them only to those who would pay me. I give these (incidental rituals) to you, so that they may be preserved and kept with all the other songs that belong to the Hako.

796*
773
787
861

Long ago there lived a holy man who knew all the songs and the rites of this ceremony, and to him came a vision wherein he was taught how to bring comfort to a little child when, during the ceremony, it cried and could not be pacified. In this vision he was shown what he must do to bring comfort to the little child, and he heard the songs that he must sing. The songs which he heard have been handed down through many generations.

796*
861

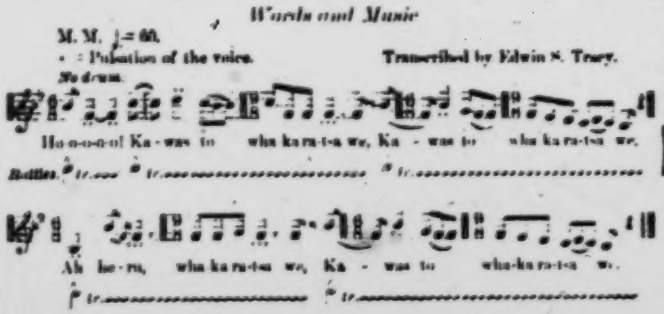
When during the ceremony a child cries and can not be comforted, the mother, or some one sent by her, can approach the Ku'rahus who carries the brown-eagle stem and ask him to come and quiet the child. The Ku'rahus must comply with this request, so he rises and stands before the holy place, takes up the feathered stem and sings this song, which tells the brown eagle, Kawas, that its baby is crying.

All the people hear the song and know that help for the child is being asked.

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
861
533*



1302 Hoooooo!
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
1304 Kawas to whaka ratsa we,
1305 Ah hora, whaka ratsa we,
1306 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.

Translation

1302 Hoooooo! An introductory exclamation;
1303 Kawas to whaka ratsa we.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the feminine principle.
to, its, denoting ownership of the child that is crying.
whaka, voice, noise from the mouth.
ratsa, a high pitch, screaming.
we, personal pronoun; refers to the child.

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SECOND RITUAL. PREFIGURING THE JOURNEY TO THE SUN

*796 622 787 The ceremony of offering the Hako was believed to bring great benefits. As the tie to be formed was a close one and likely to have a bearing on the welfare of two tribes, the selection of the man who was to be the Son was not left exclusively to the Father. His choice had to be submitted to the chiefs of his tribe for their approval. Nor did the matter end here, for the chiefs, seemingly unwilling to assume the entire responsibility of a final decision, threw the confirmation of the selection of the Son upon the supernatural, represented by the ear of corn.

[771] To be able to follow the Pawnee's thought one should keep well in mind the native belief in the reality of an invisible world accessible to man. The Ku'rahus explained that in this rite the spirit of the corn and the spirits of the assembled company must meditate together upon the proposed candidate for the Son, must consider his qualifications and his ability to meet the requirements for a successful issue of the ceremony. He said: "As we meditate we sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head." When the decision is reached "Mother Corn lifts her head and stands erect, then she moves through the air on her journey to the Sun, and we follow."

In this mystical journey Mother Corn "opens the way" between the land of the Fathers and that of the Children. She does more. She enters the village and passes around among the lodges of the people to that of the selected man. She goes in and touches him while he sleeps. It is the spirit of Mother Corn that touches the spirit of the man in a dream. He does not see her who has touched him, but he sees one of the birds which belong to the feathered stem, the eagle, the owl, the duck, or the woodpecker, for the spirits of these birds are there with the spirit of Mother Corn in the lodge of the sleeping man. If, when he awakes, he is able to recall his dream, it is because Mother Corn has "opened his mind." Therefore when the messengers of the Father's party arrive with the tidings, "Your Father is coming," the dreamer is not taken by surprise, but is ready to respond without unnecessary delay.

*796 622 The old man narrated this symbolic procedure of the ear of corn and its attendant spirits without consciousness that he was saying anything unusual or contrary to ordinary experience. His only comment was, that it was very difficult for the men of the party of the Father so to fix their minds upon the desired end as to secure its accomplishment. He referred to this difficulty several times while explaining the words and meaning of the song. When questioned as to whether the attempt was always successful, he said that when it failed the failure was always due to a lack of earnestness or sincerity on the part of the persons so fixing their minds. By this he did not mean that the men failed because they did not try hard enough to

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*796 The stars were shining when the Children were again seated in the lodge. The wood was piled upon the fire, and as the flames leaped high, the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the chief arose from behind the holy place and took up the Hako. Among the Omahas this act was accompanied by a song referring to the eagle rising from its nest, which the movements of the feathered stems vividly pictured. The Pawnees had no such songs, and the Hako were taken up without any symbolic movements.

[171]

●787 In the song belonging to this first night, the visions that "attend
*796 the Hako" were invoked.

According to the explanations of the Ku'rahus, these visions resembled dreams, inasmuch as they often came during sleep, but they also appeared when the dreamer was awake. They might be called revelations, which served either to strengthen a purpose or to suggest means by which a plan could be carried out to insure success to some cherished project. Through such visions, we are told, the manner of procedure of the ceremony had been taught and its details prefigured, details which were afterward carefully followed so as to conform to what was regarded as a supernaturally given model.

*539 The birds, the animals, and the products of the earth represented
787 on the Hako communicated with man by visions. In the song of
*796 invocation these visions are personified. They hear the summons in their dwelling place above; they descend and pass over the quiet earth, making their way to the door of the lodge, where they pause; they cross the threshold and "walk within"; they move around and fill the space, touching all the people; this accomplished, they "walk away" and ascend to their abode on high.

We note that the visions follow the same sequence of movements that the Hako party followed in entering the lodge; they pause at the door, then enter and "walk within"; they move about and touch the people in prefiguration of the bestowal of gifts promised through the ceremony.

[*533] This song was quite impressive, sung as the writer heard it by a hundred or more voices. The Ku'rahus and his assistants, as they moved around the lodge, were followed by the choir, singers bearing the drum, and the song was taken up by all the people—men, women, and children—until the lodge vibrated with the sonorous melody. At the close of the fourth stanza the Hako were laid at rest with the songs belonging to that act; the eagle had gone to her nest, leaving the space clear for the mystic visitors, the visions, who now walked within the lodge. After a time the Hako were again taken up and the last four stanzas were sung; then the eagle once more alighted upon her nest, the visions had departed, they had "touched" the Children, and, as the Ku'rahus said, "the people could now go home to have pleasant dreams."

*796 The face of the old man was radiant as he explained this song and
781

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796* [731]

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA EIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time

533* 796*

. .
. .
. .
. .

Rhythmic Recitation

1

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy. 539*
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near: 796*
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

[a] Made on page 132. [b] Gods, meaning powers, is used in accordance of the rhythmically

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668 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated
177 reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

"One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were
668 dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the
177 north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly over-
796 come. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow.
[276 The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked
301] him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance
668 among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following
177 the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White . . . joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream,
[787] the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in
[533 Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:
539]

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come

wetikuwatu	*rawahe*
now I long for	the {village / region

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint
[114] or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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668 177 794 796 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi, and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and great excitement prevailed.

[787] In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here; everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

[787] One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

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796
787

west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

[622]

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contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[s]), Sam Cover (Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki[s]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers, and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

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about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it.' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing.

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with a Squaw dance afterwards."

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed.

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things

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796 668 787 177 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [188] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

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development of visions in which hand games and many similar sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

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668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
777 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
668 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
184 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
796 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance.
786 Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight. The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position; he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
796 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way. There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

533 1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

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reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribes-people, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

[787]

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Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

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The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

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668 796 533 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs. Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

668 792 796 787 As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there, and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance. She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization; the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke. "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

527 574 Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced, "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day." This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

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[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Carrion resented; see above.

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668 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which
796 the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the
782 west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do
796 the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers,
[264 and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served
554] first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large.

After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the
668 first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to
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be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because she clothed them according to directions which she received in a Ghost Dance vision.

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike. [292]

Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words: 159

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

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159 game tipi'. Of course at that time I didn't care about that, but they talked about it.

"One morning I took my horse out and tied him where there was good grass. I looked about me, and looked up at the sky, and all at once felt as if I had swallowed something. I felt sorry for myself. I said, 'Here I am. I have no father, no mother, no home,' and then all at once something struck me. I thought that there was nothing good in this world. I let the horse go and didn't bother with him. On the north side there was a big hill. I climbed it and facing west I began to cry. I was sorry for myself. I was alone. Sorrow came all over me. All day I stayed there, until sundown, with nothing to eat or drink. About at nightfall I fell asleep there.

"The next morning I started to cry again, fasting there. I stayed there about three days and nights with nothing to eat and drink, but at the same time I never felt hungry. On the fourth day, in the morning, I felt like sleeping. Everyone in the camp knew I was up there. I went to lie down with my head on my hands.

"Just after I went to sleep I heard someone call me. He said, 159 'Now look at the south,' and not very far off I saw a badger. He ●787 said, 'Now if you want to do that, take the citizen's clothes off. You have to have different clothes.' While I looked at him, it was as if I took my clothes off and put them in a hole in the ground. And someone said, 'now put your Indian clothes on and then you do that.' Just as I heard that I awoke, and again I began to cry. About noon I felt as if I must sleep again. I could hardly stand up. I went to lie down on my back, with my head towards the east. All at once I fell asleep. I saw someone standing way up above me in the sky, and I was with him. He faced the north, and I stood at his left side. He said, 'now look way down there. Here you are, and there you are lying, down there.' I looked down and saw myself lying there with my mouth open. Near my head there was some bird. The bird walked around close to my head, bobbing its tail up and down. It had a white feather at each side of its tail. Finally I saw it go right into my mouth. I lay there like a log. I could see it go down inside, and could tell when it got down to the stomach. This one told me, 'go down and kick your feet'. I kicked my feet, and I woke up. Then I began to cry again. As the sun went down, I found my eyes were very tired. When the sun was pretty near down I was looking west. I could see the sun whirl around and around,[1] and once in a while white spots came off it as it whirled, and then green. Then it seemed to be coming toward me, then it seemed to be going away again. At half sunset, over the grass you

[1] Mark's gesture at this point indicated a clockwise motion.

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could see the shadows coming. Some one said to me, 'now right there, you see the sun there. Right there, that's what's going to hurt you, the shadow of the grass.' The shadows began to twist over like fishhooks, and were sharp. 'That's the people's talk. They'll use bad words on you, and tell you you're crazy and call you names. Let them talk all they want to, don't mind them. It isn't yours, it's mine. When they curse you, they curse me.'

"Just before it got dark, as I was standing and crying, I looked east, and right there in the bottom I saw an owl fly up along the grass, with white on each side of the tail. He flew around and around as it got dark, and finally into a hollow a short distance off. As he disappeared into the darkness of the hollow, I heard three doctors singing. Each one had a gourd rattle. They were coming up toward me. There was no one there I could see, but still I heard them coming toward me as it grew darker. I was looking in the other direction, but my mind was behind me: I knew they were coming. When they were about halfway, they changed the song into a humming, saying, 'I'll kill you. H-hm, h-hm, h-hm, I'll kill you.' They had something to hit the ground with. I made up my mind that I didn't care if they killed me. Let them. I wasn't afraid. I was a man.

"I used to think I was a brave man at that time, but I wasn't either. I found out that time. All at once it came into my mind that it was the scalped man coming. I looked out of the corner of my eye and could see him coming close. I looked around and could see he had a club he was raising over my head to strike me and kill me. I thought, 'let him go ahead'. I was looking upward, and it felt as if something was taken out of my mouth, and another thing put in. The brave one was taken out, and the coward put in. Then I ran off.

"That night these men were after me all night. They chased me around. They chased me pretty near to Ponca City. I couldn't get back to the camp, because they would turn and bar my way. Just about at the time the moon came up, they changed into the night crow. It came close to me calling 'ka, ka, ka,' and I had to run again. When I came to one place, there were seven horses, all white. He said, 'When you chase them round, the last one, if you get it, it's yours.' But I was tired. It was near morning, and I was very tired. I wanted to sleep. Just as I would be about to fall asleep, these horses would come up. It was the seven of the dipper that go around the North Star. Then morning came. I woke, and there was nothing wrong with me. I came home. When I went back to the place on the hill where I had been standing, my aunt was there, waiting to take me home.

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159 [302] "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

[787] "The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why--because they were ghosts--that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 524 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night. People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game; it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 787 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 301 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

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in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day. 159 301

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one. [237] [283]

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles. 668 796

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I 668 796 787

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668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there
●787 and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows
just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell
them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you
have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why
I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you
have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each
two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing
too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.'
I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke
up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
796 selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri
selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver,
Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the
Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles
were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other
side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw
that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made
the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of
the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She
was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the
Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the
Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the
Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for
the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were
later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy
Chief's game).

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain con-
[787] cepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before
him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson
and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and
others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see these standing, these are the
ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here
177] this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

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coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie.

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering:

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision.

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blane, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well.

ra a (hi i i a) *he i ra a (hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) *he ra (a e ee)*
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) *kitu* *tixwakiâ·hu*
then all they are saying

rihi *weturahe*
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) *i ra a (hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) *hera* *hera*
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 68, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

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The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha ° i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerihaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirau kura (u)
father child his

kuraha·ku° tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

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533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the
back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ɩrihe we ɩsarɩt*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirɑraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ɩrihe we ɩsarat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58. [2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68. [4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

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III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbeliever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to demonstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These visions were moments of intercommunication between those here on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways, for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

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doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

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The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

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The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle
[756]
ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle
[764]
rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

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this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the old and learned always held back something until they were ready to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest, a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance: the physical bundle survived, though it might be less and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision then became a command upon himself and others around him to carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirats, the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

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178 796 756 787 a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

178 756 796 "The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun..., Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat[a] had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony, especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

178 756 796 424

[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

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178 575 796 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on occasion even women were known to join the dancing.

The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [577] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

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REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee
526 were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and the moccasin game[3]: for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling
178 the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games
524 were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way: such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such
[796 developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the
•787] other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported
796 to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living
698 as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an
178 awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

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of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

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178 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken
796 over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha
177 grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki[x]. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the
[778 hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this
534] ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Teawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat[a].[3]

668 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee
796 in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4]
276 Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual
• [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

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VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were played, but the old life which began with early spring and included one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these game revivals the most notable was the hand game.

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This radical development by individuals only came after the movement to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, so that someone would "put it up"; and the public had to believe

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668 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were
525 probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.
787 The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were
777 eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the game was carried along with a changed meaning: it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples,
777 is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When
668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for
525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need
777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was
787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

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the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing:

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark, "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

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are whole tones between B flat and C, and between F and G. A similar melodic form occurs in Nos. 5 and 53. This song is transcribed with the signature of the key of F and classified with songs lacking the third above the keynote. The repetitions of the rhythmic unit are six in number and comprise the entire melody. Slight differences in the note values of the rhythmic unit occur in the latter part of the song. S33

The tenth obstacle was not encountered by Morning Star until after he entered the lodge of Evening Star. The obstacle was a snake, but he overcame it, as he had overcome the others, by means of the ball of fire and the song. 773

Evening Star saw that his power was greater than hers, but she determined to hold him aloof as long as possible. Finally she insisted that he make provision for the child that should be born; she even required him to provide perfumed water for bathing the child and a cradle board in which it should be placed. On the hoop, or arch, of this cradle board was painted a morning star and the lightnings, this custom being followed by the Pawnee at the present time. Evening Star also required him to plant a tree in front of the lodge so that the mocking birds might nest there and sing to the child. From this union a daughter was born. She came down to earth and wandered about in fear. As she was running hither and thither she met a boy, the child of Sun and Moon, and these two became the ancestors of the human race. [854] [531]

Morning Star made a bundle and placed in it various articles connected with the obstacles he had overcome on his westward journey. He left this bundle with Evening Star and for that reason a woman has always been the keeper of the sacred bundle. Other articles have been added from time to time and will be noted in this paper. 778 773

It is said that Evening Star required a human sacrifice as her reward. This sacrifice must be a pure and beautiful maiden and she demanded that the sacrifice be repeated annually. Long ago, Morning Star sometimes appeared to a man in a dream and told him to secure a maiden for this sacrifice. According to Linton, a man who had this vision went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received the warrior's costume and the sacred objects kept for such an expedition. Other warriors joined him and, preliminary to the expedition, they enacted the journey of the Morning Star, and sang the song with which he overcame the obstacles placed in his way. (Cf. Song No. 1.) When the ceremony ended it was almost time for the Morning Star to rise and the leader went outside the lodge and addressed an invocation to him. After dancing furiously around their fire and offering a last prayer to Morning Star the warriors started forth and captured a maiden from the enemy. Returning, they gave 796 773 782 [787] 796 782

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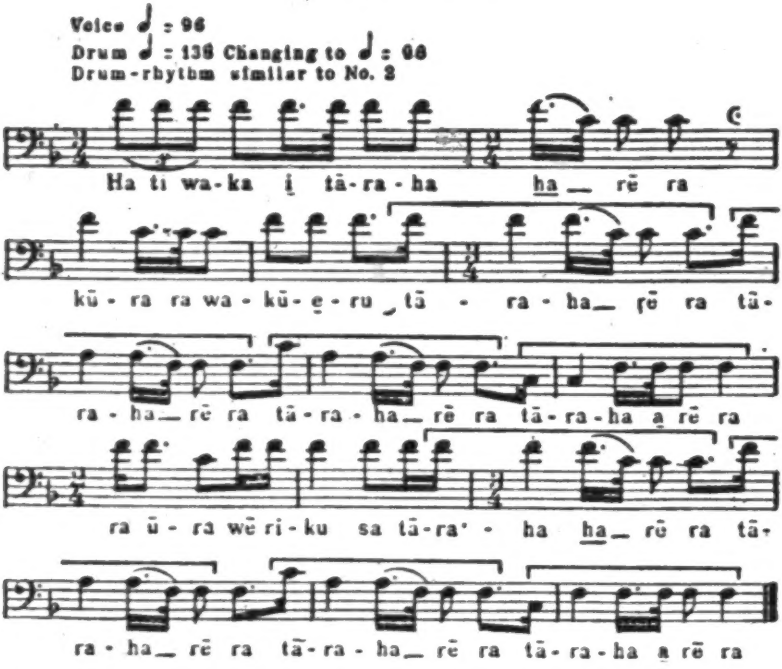
*533
[573
787]

The next song is concerning a dream of buffalo by the singer's grandfather. He was in his lodge when he saw an animal approaching. In the distance he thought it was a horse, but when it came nearer he saw that it was a buffalo. That night he dreamed of a horse that turned into a buffalo and told him of many good things that would happen to him.

No. 7. "The Buffalo Are Coming"

(Catalogue No. 1115)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN



Ha	ti	waka	tūraha	rē	ra	kūra
Listen	he	said	buffalo	yonder	coming	his
ra	wakūru	ra	ūra	wē	riku	sa
have	sayings	walking	have	do	stand	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said, yonder the buffalo are coming,
These are his sayings, yonder the buffalo are coming,
They walk, they stand, they are coming,
Yonder the buffalo are coming.

Analysis.—This song is harmonic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. The intervals are unusually large, only six being smaller than a fourth. It has been noted that the interval of a fourth appears

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to characterize songs associated with animals and with motion. This interval comprises 14 of the 25 progressions in this song. The final tone is preceded by a fourth lower, as in No. 2. A rhythmic unit occurs several times and the characteristic count division of the unit occurs in the opening portion of the song.

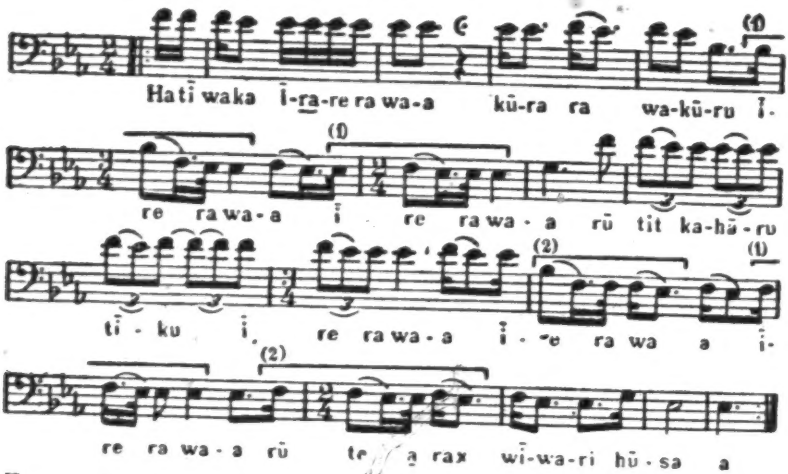
Long ago an old man named Nara'dudesa'ru had a dream and in his dream he saw a cloud of dust rolling along the ground. He sat and looked at the dust a long time until late in the afternoon. Then it looked like a crowd of people, but after the dust storm had passed he saw a great herd of buffalo.

No. 8. "The Waves of Dust"

(Catalogue No. 1113)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 78
Drum ♩ = 120
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 8



Ha	tĭ	waka	ĭre	ra	waa [10]	kūra	ra
Listen	be	said	there	have	do coming	his	have
wakūru	ĭre	ra	waa	rū	tĭt	kahāru	
sayings	there	have	coming	did	dust	earth	
tĭku	ĭre	ra	waa	rūte	rax		
wave downward	there	have	coming	do	them		
wĭwari	hūsa						
wallow	marked place						

[10] This word signifies a great mass in motion.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
These are his sayings,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
The waves of dust roll downward,
There the buffalo are coming in a great herd,
They mark the place of the buffalo wallow.

Analysis.—This melody contains only the tones E flat, F and B flat, except G which occurs as next to the last note. This occurrence of G, however, makes possible the classification of the song as major in tonality. The song has a compass of 9 tones and its progressions consist of 28 whole tones and 7 larger intervals. The opening portion of the song suggests a chant and is followed by a rest. This is succeeded by a 3-measure phrase with a clear-cut rhythm and a descending trend of 9 tones. After a repetition of the rhythmic unit the song returns to the whole tone progressions on the highest tones of the compass. This phrase is followed by a second rhythmic unit. In several renditions the portions of the song resembling a chant were sung softly, the singer changing to a loud tone at the beginning of the rhythmic phrases. The drumbeat was in the same tempo throughout this song, differing from other ceremonial songs in which the drumbeat was rapid in the opening measures.

*537 The next song is also concerning a dream of buffalo. The herd
● 787 was scattered and a man was watching them. One of the buffalo
lay down. The man wondered why the buffalo had lain down.
773 That night he dreamed about the buffalo, who said that he had "taken pity" on the man. The buffalo promised the man that he would live to old age and be able to foretell events a long time before they came to pass.

*533 *Analysis.*—This song is unusual in containing no interval of a whole tone. It contains 39 progressions, 12 of which are semitones and 11 are minor thirds. The transcription is from the first rendition, the tempo of the drum changing abruptly on the fourth measure as in certain other songs of this group. The tempo of the voice increased during the latter portion of the rendition and in the subsequent renditions. Such hastening of the tempo is not customary among Indians and was probably due to agitation on the part of the singer, who was totally blind. The rhythmic unit is not distinctive but occurred several times.

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song was sung twice. The connective phrase occurred between the second and third, and the fourth and fifth renditions. The song has a compass of nine tones, and progresses by whole tones except for three other intervals which occur only in downward progression. 533*

BEAR DANCE

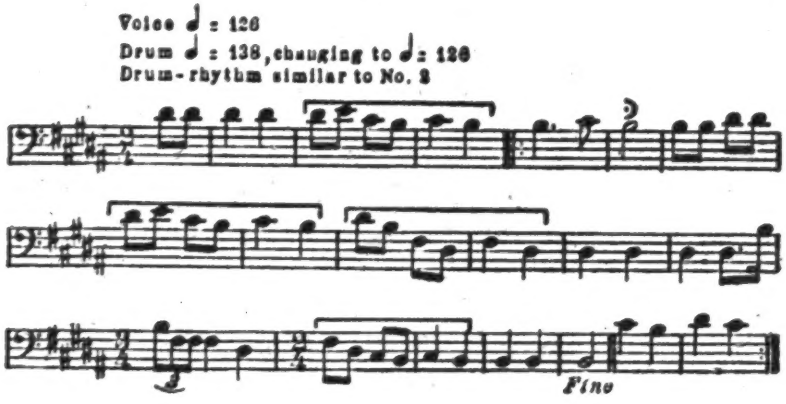
There was no opportunity to witness this dance, and its details were not made a subject of inquiry. Ten songs of the dance were recorded, the first five by a member of the Chaui Band and the last five by a member of the Skidi Band. These two groups of songs are strikingly different in musical character. [123 126]

The next song was sung when all the participants in the Bear dance were seated. "Mother" was said to refer to the moon, and there was said to be a similar song containing the word "Father." A young man received this song in a dream, while mourning for his parents who had died. He saw a woman coming toward him, and said, "Mother is coming." The woman said," You have seen me, now you must learn this song." The young man learned the song, lived a long time afterwards, and took part in the Bear dance. When the song is used ceremonially there are six "stops" or verses, the general meaning of which is as follows: 533* 773 787 533*

1. "Mother is coming."
2. The young man, devotional by nature, imagines that he is still mourning for his parents.
3. "Mother stands yonder."
4. The young man says, "Mother, standing in the sky, I want you to take pity on me."
5. "Mother now ends" (stands still).
6. "I will now say, I mean the mother who alone stands forever in the sky" (the moon).

No. 11. "Mother is Coming" (Catalogue No. 1117)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN



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Ha	tĭ	waka	ra	riki	ra	itawi	ra	riki	533*
Listen	he	said	have	stand	have	telling	have	stand	

kŭruks	hāru	tę	riki	we	ra
bear	yonder	it	stands	now	have

sakŭ	ra
sun	coming

FREE TRANSLATION

Listen, he said; he (the bear) stands,
I am telling this, yonder the bear stands,
It faces the east just before the sun appears,
Yonder the bear stands,
Now the sun is coming.

Analysis.—In this song we note the simplicity of rhythm which characterizes this entire group. A variety of progression occurs, though the major second comprises almost half the entire number of intervals. The song is minor in tonality, has a compass of six tones, and contains all the tones of the octave except the seventh. Two rhythmic units occur, the second reversing the count divisions of the first in its opening measure. The repetition of the first unit is not exact, as a third count is added to the first measure. The rhythm is particularly clear throughout the renditions. More than half the intervals are whole tones.

For a long time the Pawnee have called the cedar tree "mother," a custom which had its origin in the dream of a man who saw a cedar tree and thought it was "like a woman." He said, "This tree is made to look the same in winter and summer, and to stand up so nicely. The leaves of other trees fall but this tree is always green." This strange woman-tree made a noise like a bear and the song is used in the Bear dance. 824 787 533*

Analysis.—This melody contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale and is characterized by a descending trend. The tempo of the drum begins to decrease in the fourth and fifth measures but the drum and voice do not fully coincide until the last part of the song. Minor thirds and major seconds comprise 23 of the 30 progressions, 5 of the remaining intervals being fourths. The song is melodic in structure and has a compass of 11 tones. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *Analysis.*—This song has a compass of only five tones and contains the tones of the minor triad and fourth. In structure it is melodic. The form of the melody is peculiar, the first seven measures containing the descent from E to A and the next two measures being framed on the descent from D to A. This structure is repeated and the song closes with three measures on the descent from C to A. Only four intervals larger than a minor third occur in the song. The *gradual decrease in the tempo of the drum* is similar to that in the song next preceding.

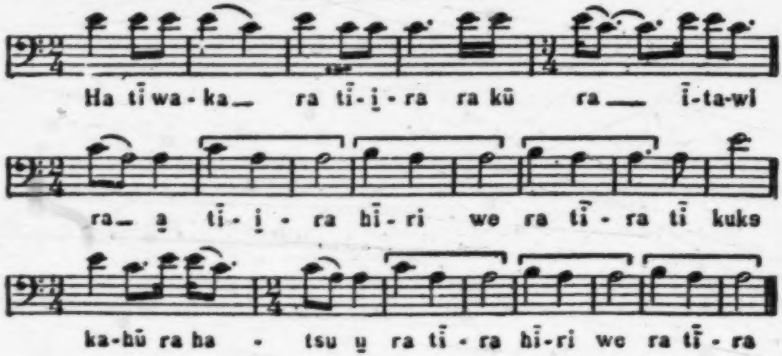
887 481 787 *533 [424] The singer said that when he was a young man living in Nebraska he saw a very old man who used a cane. Even with this aid he could scarcely walk. This old man had a dream in which he ascended a high hill and sat down. The clouds were below him and he saw rain falling from the clouds; he also saw about 40 white horses and drove them; the white horses were probably the shapes assumed by the clouds in his dream. The following song belonged to this old man but was not related to the foregoing dream. It was sung in the Bear dance.

No. 15. "I Was Lost in the Timber"

(Catalogue No. 1121)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

*533 **Voice ♩ = 138**
Drum ♩ = 144, changing to ♩ = 138
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Ha	tī	waka	ra	tira	ra	kū	ra
Listen	he	said	do	I come	do	did	have
itawi	hiri	we	ra	tira	tī	kuks	
mentioning	place	now	do	I come	I	was	
kahū	ra	hatsu					
timber	have	lost					

FREE TRANSLATION

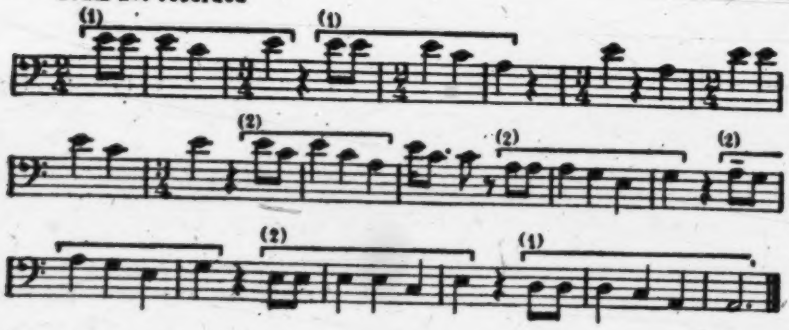
Listen, he said, I come,
He told this to me,
I came to a place where I was lost in the timber,
I came to the place,
Now I come.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 20. Bear Dance Song (d)

Recorded by Doc Chief (Catalogue No. 1151) 533*

Voice ♩ = 168
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song is clearly harmonic in feeling, though three measures in the latter part of the song begin with nonharmonic tones. It has a compass of 12 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is chiefly by major and minor thirds. Two rhythmic units occur, and a comparison of these units forms the principal interest of the rhythm. Rests occur at the end of each phrase and after a detached tone in the fifth measure. These rests were clearly given in both renditions of the song.

SONGS OF THE DEER SOCIETY

533* 575 [787]

The Wichita Indians are said to have originated this society, which has been discontinued for many years. The dance of the society was held in the autumn when the corn was ripe, and its purpose was "to find out whether a man would be killed when going on the warpath." The dances took place in an earth lodge. A custom of the society, described by James R. Murie, appears to have been a testing of the powers of its members. Mr. Murie said, "These men drank mescal, putting about half a bean in a kettle of water. After drinking it they [276] fell unconscious. An attendant then ran the jaw of a garfish along the man's spine and if he recovered consciousness he was not considered fitted to belong to the society. Members of this society had power [825] over snakes and their dance was allied to that of the Mokis.[1] Each [171] dancer carried a fox skin and held in his mouth a plain bone or reed whistle on which he blew as he danced." There were four singers, [534] each carrying a bow in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other.

[1] [i.e., Hopi. - Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

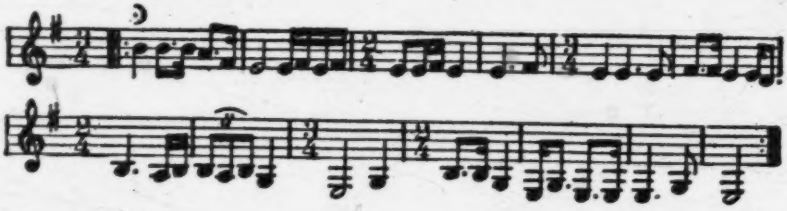
An informant said that the song next following was sung "when men made up their minds that it was no matter if they were killed." The tradition concerning this song was related by the singer as follows: The Pawnee were on the buffalo hunt and were climbing a hill in search of the herd. One family had a little boy with them and while they were climbing the hill another tribe overtook them and killed the little boy's father. When the Pawnee had run away from the other tribe they began to kill buffalo. The little boy was very happy about the hunt, not realizing that his father was dead. The child's mother wept and said, "Little boy, you are glad because they are killing buffalo but your father is dead and there is no one to bring us meat as he used to do." She sang this song, the words being those that she had spoken to the little boy.

No. 27. Lance Dance Song (a)

(Catalogue No. 1081)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum not recorded



Analysis.—This song, like No. 23, was interrupted by shrill cries. In the second rendition these cries were given at the beginning of the fifth measure. Afterwards the singer resumed the tempo and rhythm of the song. Such cries were also given between the third and fourth renditions. The song has a compass of 12 tones and progresses only by whole tones and major and minor thirds.

The next song was composed by a man who dreamed that he "heard some one crying and singing at the same time."

Analysis.—This melody is minor in tonality and is characterized by an effect of deep sadness. The two rhythmic units differ only in the division of the last count. Attention is directed to the change of accent in the seventh measure, the final tone of the rhythmic unit falling on an accented instead of an unaccented count. This change represents the break in rhythm which frequently occurs just after the middle of an Indian song. The signature of the key of B is used in the transcription of this melody, although the third above that tone does not occur. The song is classified as lacking the third.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Drum and voice are in the same tempo and coincide on the first of each count. Three renditions were recorded and show no points of difference. 533*

No. 32. Eagle Chief's War Song

(Catalogue No. 1128)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 66
Drum ♩ = 66
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2

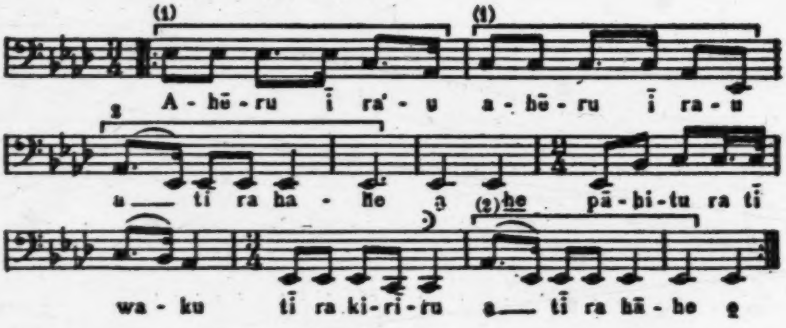
A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing the following song, learned it, and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. 821 787 533*

No. 33. "The Thunder Spoke Quietly"

(Catalogue No. 1086) 533*

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 63
Drum not recorded



Ahēru	ī	rau	a	tī	ra	harāhe [1]	pāhitu
Dear	it	that is	and	this	have	good	quietly
ra	tī	waku	tī	ra	kiriru	a	tī
have	him	saying	this	have	thundering	and	this
ra	hārahe						
have	good						

[1] The second syllable of this word was omitted by the singer.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The first gathering was attended by about 200 Indians and the building was closely packed at the second gathering, those unable to gain admission being crowded around the windows and door. 70/727

The Pawnee Tribe was represented in the United States Army by 40 young men, all except one of whom returned in full health and vigor. One of the Pawnee soldiers died from disease in France. None were wounded, although many saw hard service at the front. Several were with the Rainbow Division, and on one occasion when there was a call for volunteers for dangerous service four Pawnee stepped forward and were accepted. One of these men brought back a German helmet as a trophy and his mother carried it in the victory dance as a scalp was carried in former times. The helmet was fastened to a pole at the top of which a captured knife was fastened like the point of a lance. A Pawnee said: "While the boys were away we prayed for their safe return. We did this at every public gathering and it looks as though our prayers had been answered." [782]

The dance on June 6 was the rejoicing of the tribe and that on the day following was more formal, being attended by many white persons from the town of Pawnee. At the first dance the soldiers were honored by their families and friends, especially by the women, about 45 of whom were in the circle. It was a time of general rejoicing, sometimes three persons being on their feet at the same time, singing, narrating some incident, or giving a gift. Old war songs were sung with new words appropriate to the occasion. For example, one man had composed words which mentioned airplanes and submarines, these words being sung to an old tune. A woman had composed two similar songs, and, crossing the circle, she stood in front of the chief (James R. Murie) and sang them alone, without the drum. Throughout the entire afternoon there were frequent repetitions of the shrill, quavering cry with which the Indian women express pleasure or approval. 727 533* [201]

Two of the most interesting songs heard on this occasion had their origin in two dreams by John Luwak. The melody of the two was the same, but the words referred to different dreams. Luwak, who speaks no English, said that his friends translated to him the newspaper accounts of the war and that he "felt badly that our boys must cross the ocean and suffer so much." So he prayed daily to Tirawa, saying, "Help our boys over there, so they will all come back strong and let me live to see them again." One night he fell asleep, after such a prayer, and "in his sleep someone told him that it would not be long before he would see the Pawnee boys again." He dreamed, and in his dream he saw thousands of white people and heard them sing this song. They were very happy and were dancing and waving flags; even the oldest people were dancing. 533* 787● 727 [782]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 He had never seen white people behave in this manner, and it sur-
● 787 prised him greatly. A few days later he heard of the signing of the
armistice and the scenes of its celebration. The next night he
727 dreamed again, and in his dream he saw a circle of Indians dancing
and heard them sing the same melody. In the middle of the dance
circle was a tall pole, and on top of it was a skull. Two white women
stood near him watching the dance, and one of them pointed to the
skull, saying, "Look, I wonder what that can be." When he awoke
he thought perhaps the skull indicated that many of the enemy had
been killed but later he interpreted the skull as representing a helmet.
As already mentioned, a helmet was carried in the victory dance.

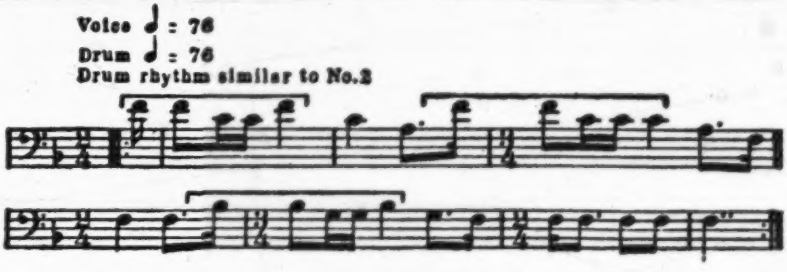
Soon after these dreams there was a gathering of the Pawnee at the earth lodge and Luwak rose, told his dreams, and sang the song, which was readily learned by the people and sung at subsequent gatherings prior to the return of the soldiers. The words heard in his first dream are those presented with the transcription. The words with his second dream were addressed to the skull: "At this, whoever you may have belonged to, you are now hung on a pole." The words of the song when sung at the victory dance were connected with events of the recent war.

*533
727

No. 36. Song for Returned Pawnee Soldiers

(Catalogue No. 1134)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK



FREE TRANSLATION

You are coming.
You are the ones for whom I am looking

Analysis.—The frequency of the fourth characterizes this song, which contains only the tones of the major triad and fourth. It is a vigorous melody, progressing freely within its compass of an octave.

727 The dance on the second day (June 7) was opened ceremonially,
[276] a pipe being lighted with a coal from the central fire and smoked by
the chief and the men seated near him. Many gifts were bestowed
[431] upon the returned soldiers, among these gifts being two white horses
led into the dance lodge by women.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

524 those who should lead the two opposing sides. These in turn selected
*533 those who should hide the balls. It was customary to give the balls
796 to persons sitting [illegible] other, the guesser indicating by a gesture whether he (or she) believed the balls to be in the two outer hands, the two inner, or one outer and one inner hand. The writer was invited to sit beside a member of the tribe and join in the game, attempting to hide the balls in the manner of the Indians.

[152] An unfortunate though not unusual circumstance took place in the dances which occurred during this game. The woman who gave the hand game was afflicted with what was termed a "Ghost dance fit." [27] She staggered and moaned in a pitiful manner but did not fall to the ground. Several persons went to her aid and restored her in the manner peculiar to the Ghost dance.[28]

[787] The second hand game attended by the writer took place on April 16, 1921, and was given by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who recorded Song No. 80. This was said to be her hand game, not only because she gave the invitations and provided the feast, but because certain features of the game, as played that day, had been revealed to her in a dream. The symbolism of certain articles used in that game was not made known to the singers and perhaps is known only to herself. The game was held in the same 6-sided lodge as the former hand game and the victory dances. (Pl. 7, *c*.) As on the former occasion, Mr. Murie opened the game in a ceremonial manner. The doors were closed and a filled pipe was offered to the earth and the sky. Mrs. Good Eagle was a dignified hostess, standing in the center of the lodge and appointing those who should lead the two sides of players. After the game the doors were again closed and a tiny portion of each sort of food was ceremonially offered and then laid beside the fire space, opposite the door. A bountiful [264] feast was then served. According to Indian custom, each person provided his own utensils and the food was served in large containers. The writer shared in the feast.

*533 Eight of the songs used at this game, during the hiding of the balls, were later recorded by Horse Chief, a prominent singer at the drum. In some of these songs there were no words and in others the words are obsolete, the singer repeating them but having no knowledge of their meaning.

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[27] The woman undoubtedly suffered from the early stages of what, in the Ghost dance, would have been a trance. Mooney states that he "was able to note all the stages of the phenomenon . . . through the staggering, the rigidity, the unconsciousness, and back again to wakefulness. On two occasions my partner in the dance, each time a woman, came under the influence and I was thus enabled to note the very first nervous tremor of her hand and mark it as it increased in violence until she broke away and staggered toward the medicine man within the circle. Young women are usually the first to be affected, then older women, and lastly men." (Mooney, James, The Ghost Dance Religion, Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 923, Washington, 1896.)

[28] The "Shaker religion" has been introduced among the Indians at Neah Bay, Wash., and at a gathering in that village the writer saw a woman afflicted in a manner similar to the "Ghost dance fit." A slave woman went to her, stroked her arms and head, and gradually quieted her.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dance songs were sung in the dances at hand games while others were not used in that manner.

The hypnotic phase which the hand game has in common with the Ghost dance is indicated in the following song which was sung at the Ghost dance and also at the hand game. In old times the game and its accompanying dances were held on the prairie instead of inside a lodge. A portion of the people were called "crows," and the woman who recorded this song said that she "belonged on the crow side of the circle." At intervals these people gave the caw of the crow and imitated that bird in their dancing. (This was done in the dance connected with the hand game attended by the writer.) It is said that under the hypnotic influence of the occasion, the dancers sometimes saw a crow inside the dance circle, no one except themselves being able to see it. The singer said that she "dreamed" this song when she was a young girl.

No. 50. "The Crow"

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN (Catalogue No. 1087)

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum not recorded

FREE TRANSLATION

The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers.

Analysis.—The first two phrases of this song are based on a descending fourth and the last two phrases on a descending fifth, the repetition of these phrases comprising the entire melody. As in the preceding song, there is no change of measure length and the rhythm suggests the motion of the players. The song is minor in tonality and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth and seventh.

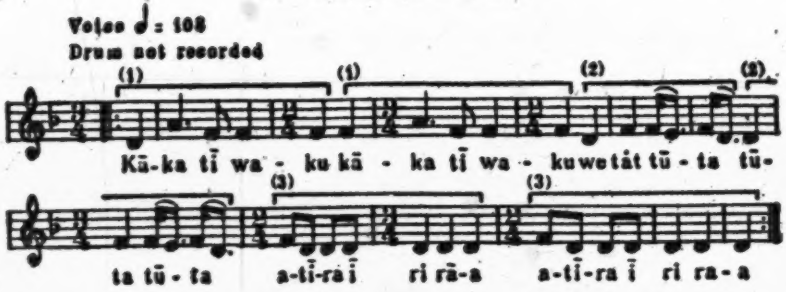
The crow which sometimes appeared in the Ghost dance might speak of taking the dancer to Mother Moon or to the Ghost dance messiah. The following song was "dreamed" by the woman recording it, who said she might sing it either at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

No. 51. Song Concerning Mother Moon

(Catalogue No. 1084)

*533 Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN



Kāka	tĭ	waku	we	tát	tūta
Crow	it	spoke	now	I	do
atira	I	ri	rāa		
mother	there	place	coming		

FREE TRANSLATION

The crow spoke and said, "Now I am coming to where my mother is."

Analysis.—Although this song contains three rhythmic divisions the rhythm should be studied as a whole. This song does not afford an example of thematic treatment but of carrying a rhythmic feeling from the beginning to the end of a melody. The first and second units begin with an ascending progression to an accentuated tone. It is an emphatic melody, in accordance with its words. Attention is directed to the entrance of the third rhythmic unit and the count which precedes it. The first occurrence of the second rhythmic unit shows this as an accented tone, but in this occurrence it is unaccented and leads to the strong phrases that close the song. The melodic material consists of the minor triad and second, and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 *533 [158] The next was said to be a "true song" of a boy who is now dead. He once dreamed that he was in a grave and seemed unable to free himself from this impression. Whenever this song was sung it "threw the boy into a Ghost dance fit." The words are translated, "Here is the hole, right here." The song was sung at a hand game or a Ghost dance.

*533 *Analysis.*—This is a peculiar melody, not only in its use of rests but in its melodic form. Each of the two rhythmic units begins with a descent and ends with an ascending progression of a whole tone, giving rather a plaintive effect. The tone material is that of the second 5-toned scale and the song is harmonic in structure.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

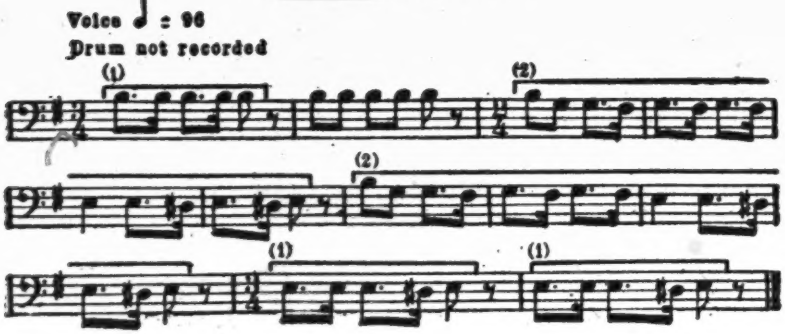
533*

Analysis.—The only accented tones in this song are the keynote and fifth. The song comprises three periods, the first and last having the same rhythmic unit and the second period having a longer unit with a change of time. The interest and force of the song lie in the second rhythmic unit which contains a triple measure. The first rhythmic unit begins on an unaccented tone and the second begins on an accented tone. This peculiarity occurs also in two songs of the hand game (Nos. 43 and 47). The song contains eight descending and only three ascending intervals.

No. 56. Ghost Dance Song (d)

(Catalogue No. 1148)

Recorded by Horse Chief



Analysis.—In this song we feel the pathos of the Ghost dance. More than four-fifths of the intervals are semitones which occur only between F sharp and G, and D sharp and E. Rests occur with some frequency and were given uniformly in all the renditions. It is interesting to compare the close of the first rhythmic unit with that of the second which contains the same count division with a different accent.

This and the succeeding song were not used in the hand game. The singer said that he composed this song when waking from a trance in the Ghost dance. He dreamed of a yellow star which came to him and said, "I am the star which you see in the sky at night." The star was in the form of a woman holding in her hand an eagle feather painted yellow. She gave him the feather, saying, "All the stars in the sky are people." A dream of the yellow star was induced by watching the star when in a Ghost dance trance. The favor of "yellow star" was greatly desired as she does not appear to many dancers, but she gives to her favored friends the right to wear a yellow eagle feather upright in their hair and to use it in hypnotizing other dancers. If such a feather is used under a false pretense no results can be obtained.

787 ● 533* [524] [786]

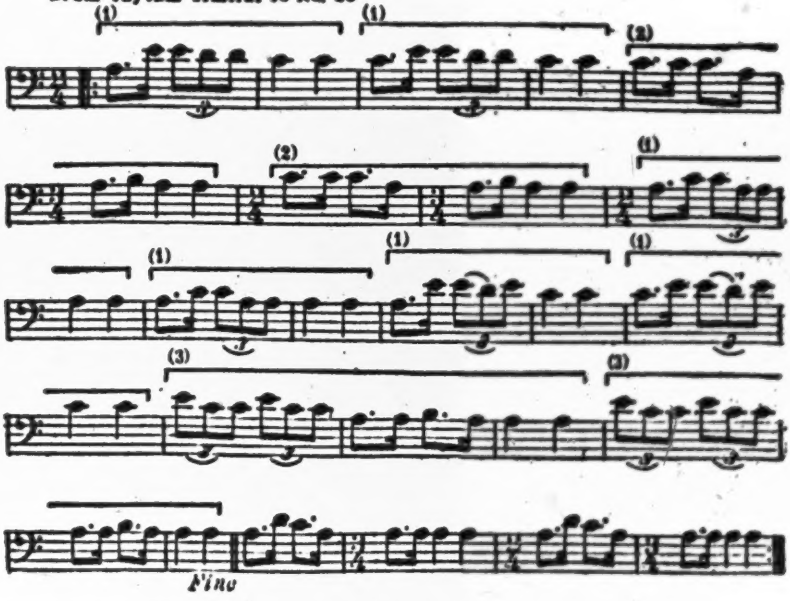
3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533

No. 57. "The Yellow Star" (Catalogue No. 1107)

Recorded by WICITA BLAIN

Voice ♩ = 84
Drum ♩ = 84
Drum rhythm similar to No. 26



FREE TRANSLATION

The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather,
That yellow star.

Analysis.—Although the compass of this melody is only five tones it contains three rhythmic units. On comparing these we note that the second unit extends the use of the dotted eighth, which occurs in the first unit, and that the third unit contains the dotted eighth and also the triplet which occurs in the first unit. This thematic development is interesting and somewhat unusual. The rhythm did not vary in the four renditions. The connecting phrase did not occur between the second and third renditions. Progression is chiefly by whole tones and the song is harmonic in structure.

787 *533 [115] The man to whom the next song belonged was Running Scout, a man who was very religious and remained in a Ghost dance trance for several days. His friends thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that he had been to the Messiah who told him to "go to the village." Following this instruction, he saw many men

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

787 ●
533*

dancing. Some had fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypnotizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always wore a fox skin in the Ghost dance. The skin was not made into a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder. He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing.

[292]

[20]

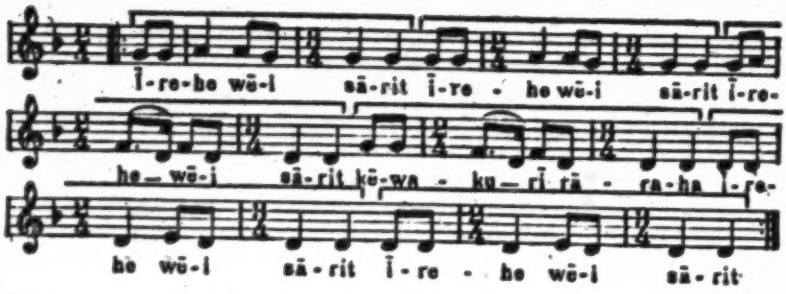
No. 58. Running Scout's Ghost Dance Song

(Catalogue No. 1088)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

533*

Voice ♩ = 96
Drum not recorded



Ireho	wēi	sārit	kēwaku	rī	rāraha
Now there	they	are	fox	they	have

Analysis.—This song, like others of the hand game and Ghost dance, consists of repetitions of the rhythmic unit. In this instance there are two units, the second occurring only in the middle part of the song. It is interesting to compare the third measure from the beginning with the second measure from the close, the accent to the accented tone in the first instance expressing a certain restlessness while the second phrase is more restful. This song contains the minor triad and fourth and progresses chiefly by whole tones.

The final song of this group is concerning the Ghost dance and, according to Mr. Murie, was sung in the Young Dog Society. The words "the father's child" refer to the messiah whose coming was expected in the Ghost dance.

575
668
796

Analysis.—The three renditions of this song are alike in every respect except that the intonation on D in the upper octave is variable, occasionally being sung almost as D sharp. The time was maintained steadily and the renditions were separated by

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

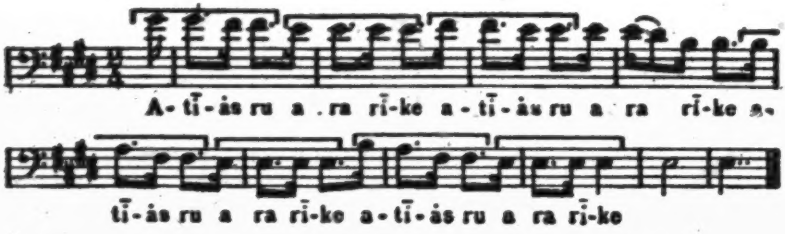
The words with the repetition of the melody were: "My father himself, through him I am exalted (made prominent) among the people." 533*

No. 60. "I am Exalted Among the People"

(Catalogue No. 1123)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 60
Drum not recorded



Atīās	ru	a	ra	rike
Father	yonder	is said	to have	stood

Analysis.—This song is unique in containing only two ascending progressions. It has a compass of 10 tones and contains all the tones of the octave except the sixth. Attention is directed to the fourth measure, which is the only one not containing the rhythmic unit. This measure, by its slight difference from the rhythmic unit, swings the rhythm of the entire song and avoids the monotony that would follow if the rhythmic unit were continuously repeated. Progression is chiefly by whole tones.

Man Chief received numerous songs in dreams. The first song is a war dance of the Iruska, it being said that the "spirits told him about this dance, which is different from an ordinary war dance." This society corresponds to the Hethushka of the Omaha, a society of distinguished warriors. Before recording this song Luwak recorded the following sentences: "The song which I am about to sing belonged to Man Chief. When he became a chief he used to go out into the storm and stand first in one place and then in another. He heard Tirawa speak through the clouds. He knew the heavens were the ruling power and prayed for his people." While speaking, he beat the drum in the same tempo as in the song which followed. 787● 533*

Analysis.—The man who recorded this song had recently taken part in a ceremony which lasted several days and was hoarse from singing on that occasion. To this may be attributed a lack of accuracy in the repetitions of his song. Transcription is from the last renditions, in which the intonation was clearest. The song has a 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

introduces the interval of a semitone, and was sung with distinctness. The song contains no change of measure lengths and has a compass of 13 tones, beginning on the highest and ending on the lowest tone of this compass. 533*

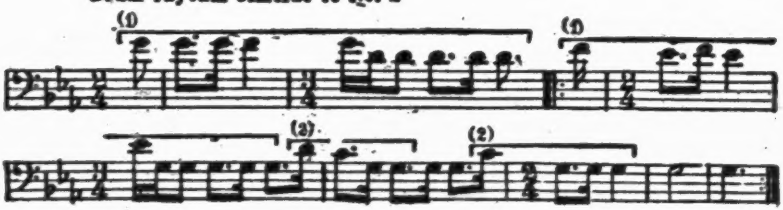
The final song belonging to Man Chief is similar to those already presented, though the words are not translated. [424]

No. 65. Man Chief's Song

(Catalogue No. 1131)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 63.
Drum ♩ = 63
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 2



Analysis.—The rhythmic form of this song is interesting and complete. The song contains two rhythmic units, the second being the opening phrase of the first unit and occurring at the close of the song. In structure the song is harmonic. It is minor in tonality, has a compass of an octave, and progresses by a variety of intervals, those occurring most frequently being the fourth and the major second.

ROAMING CHIEF'S SONGS

787 622 533*

The two songs next following belonged to a comparatively recent chief of the Chaui Band. The grief of his wife at the death of a daughter is mentioned in connection with her song (No. 83). Roaming Chief was hereditary chief of this band and was a nephew of the famous Pitalesaru, who was appointed chief of the confederated bands of the Pawnee by the Government of the United States. [643 648]

It was said that "Tirawa had pity on Roaming Chief" and that, during a Ghost dance, he fell in a trance. Visions appeared to him in this trance, the present song referring to such an experience. A Ghost dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he "cried as he sang this song." It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game.

Analysis.—This song is in a form already noted, the third period being in rhythm different from that of the first, second, and fourth. The compass is 13 tones and more than half the progressions are 533*

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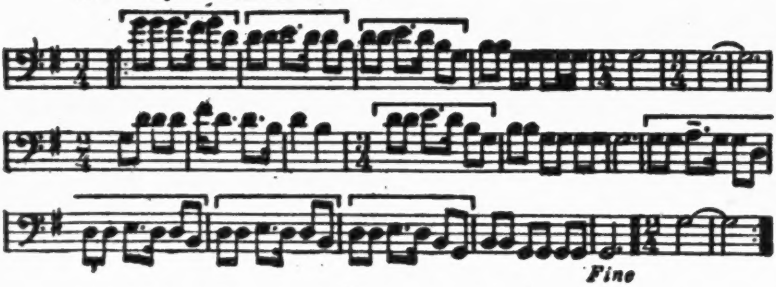
*533 782 556 Tirawa. He therefore prayed that Tirawa would help him get a horse so that he could kill some buffalo. His prayer was answered, and he became a very rich man. This is the song in which he offered his prayer.

*533

No. 79. A Poor Man's Prayer (Catalogue No. 1127)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 58
Drum ♩ = 58
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 3



Analysis.—A compass of two octaves characterizes this song, although only two of its intervals are larger than a major third. The lowest tone was distinctly sung. Two-thirds of the progressions are downward and the rhythmic unit is continued throughout the melody. The rhythm was steadily maintained in the three renditions but there was some variance in the intonation.

*533 787 Only one song was recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (pl. 2, *c*), who was hostess at a hand game attended by the writer. In explanation of the song she said, "I was sick and lay with my face toward the east. As I lay there I saw a man with his face whitened with clay, wearing a robe and leggings of buffalo hide. He was walking toward the west and singing this song. When I heard it I knew that I would get well."

*533 *Analysis.*—The ascending octave at the beginning of this song was given accurately in all the renditions. The octave forms the boundary of the melody except for the lower tone at the close, and C is regarded as the keynote, although the third above that tone does not occur. The sustained tones were the same duration in all the renditions. It is interesting to note that these tones usually contain an uneven number of counts. The same has been noted in prolonged tones occurring in songs of this and other tribes.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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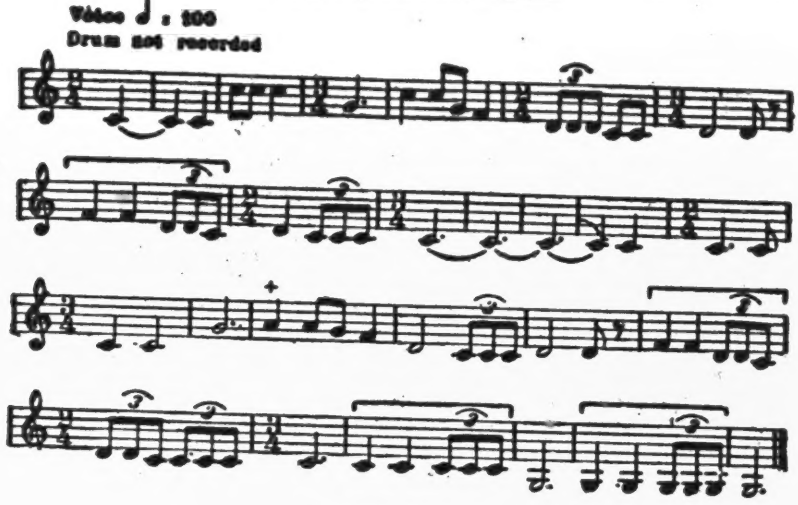
No. 80. "Everything Will Be Right"

Recorded by Mrs. Good Eagle (Catalogue No. 1161) 533*



FREE TRANSLATION

I was thinking, and I knew that everything would be right.

In explanation of the following song the singer said, "What I am going to tell you is not a dream, for I saw it in broad daylight. A star spoke to me and said, "Look at me; I am the one who takes pity on you and gives you good health. Tonight, when you go home, look toward the west. You will see two bright stars. I am the one to the north. I am the one who helps you. When you sing this song you must think of me." Then the star said, "You are not praying enough but I am helping you. I gave you everything you needed, why do you neglect your prayers?" The singer said that ever since that time he had prayed morning and night. 533* 787

Analysis.—The first seven measures of this song begin on the same tone, the melody descending a fourth or a third during the measure and returning to the initial tone. The remainder of the song contains only the tones of the major triad. Three different phrases are repeated but can scarcely be considered units of rhythm. The upward and downward progressions are almost equal in number. This is the more interesting as the general trend of the melody is downward. 533*

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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*533 wail in which the tones transcribed E–D–B are clearly discernible but are connected by a *glissando*. The melody tones are those of the fourth five-toned scale and the repeated portion, as in many Indian songs, begins with the second phrase.

*533 787 A certain man had a dream and in that dream one of his dead relatives appeared and said, "I have come back into this world. You see me." At the same time he heard and learned the following song. When the man awoke he remembered the song and understood what it meant. He dreamed a second time, and the same dead relative appeared, saying, "Remember when we pass from the old earth we pass to a new earth where we are now." The two songs were recorded and the melodies found to be the same. The words of the first were translated, "I am coming," and the words of the second were, "Yonder, whence I came, our relatives are walking."

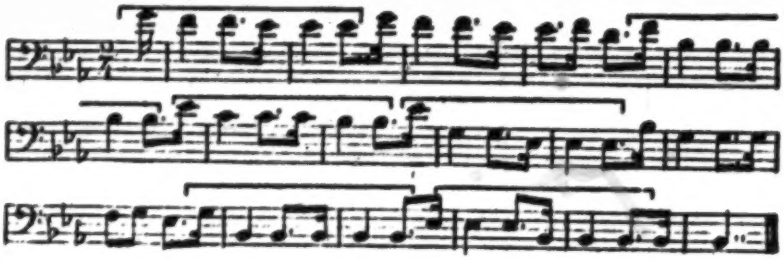
*533

No. 84. Song Received from a Dead Relative

(Catalogue No. 1132)

Recorded by JOHN LUWAK

Voice ♩ = 116
Drum ♩ = 116
Drum-rhythm similar to No. 26



Analysis.—The chief interest of this song lies in the two phrases which do not contain the rhythmic unit. The first of these phrases is the more energetic, and both bear a resemblance to the unit. The song has a compass of 10 tones and is based on the fourth 5-toned scale. Progression is by an unusually large variety of intervals but the whole tone is the interval of most frequent occurrence.

[424 622] 535 The next song belongs to a very old woman named Ciĭha'rureēs whose father was a chief. The singers at the drum sometimes start this song so that she can dance. It was formerly used in a "dance of the chiefs" in which the daughters of chiefs took part.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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When the little boy was about half-grown he heard that a war party was to start. He told his mother that he wanted to go, and he wanted her and his grandmother to make him some moccasins. He also wanted arrows, a bow and a quiver, and all the equipment of a warrior. When the old man heard this he called the boy and said, "Do you realize what you are doing?"

"Yes, I am grown to be a man."

"Do you have dreams at night?"

"Yes."

"Can you relate some of them?"

"Yes."

"Tell one to me."

"In my dream I was with a war party. I found myself coming toward home through deep snow."

"That is enough," said the old man. "You can go."

The women had sent the boy to his grandfather, thinking he would keep him at home, and they were greatly surprised to learn that the grandfather had told the boy to go with the warriors. It was fall when the war party started. As winter was coming near it was noised through the camp that all the war party had been killed and the people began to mourn. The women of this family mourned exceedingly and cut their flesh with knives, but the old man sat and laughed at them, or smoked his pipe. This went on for about 10 days. Then his wife said, "You did not care for our grandchild," and his daughter said, "Why do you not mourn?" The old man said to his wife, "You remember that you turned the boy over to me when he wanted to go to war. You made moccasins for him and filled his quiver with arrows. I questioned him and found that he had had a dream in which he was returning alone through deep snow. That dream will come true. He is coming home, so I want you all to stop mourning."

They would not believe him, but one day, after a snow, some people going out from the village met the young man returning. He said, "All the warriors were killed except myself."

The man rode back and cried through the village, "Sarĭtsaris' grandchild is coming through the deep snow."

Everyone in the lodge was excited, except the old man. He did not rush out to meet his grandson. The women urged him to go, but he said, "He is coming; never mind."

When the young man entered the lodge his grandfather said, "Sit on my knees." The old man passed his hands downward over the young man's head and body in the tribal manner of "blessing," and said, "I believed in your dream and now you are here."

Then he told him to sit yonder and said, "I ask you—when attacked, did you hide in a ravine? When you were a little boy and cooled my

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Two Lance Society.

The following is an account of the ceremonies accompanying the renewal of the lances as observed by the writer, for the raris arusa, literally horse society, but which we shall call the two lance. 575

On May 23, 1902, the Skidi men were called to the tipi of Known-the-leader where the new lances were to be made to replace the old ones which were to pass away with the winter. This was the time for lances to be made because Tirawahat had sent rains upon the earth. The two lances were to be given new life so they might watch over and care for the people. In olden times two brave men were selected by the chief to carry these lances. These were the soldiers who were always obeyed by everyone, for the priest had sanctified and the gods breathed upon them.

The men entered the lodge which faced the east and seated themselves in a circle. Four priests who were drummers sat in the west. Known-the-leader, who acted as high priest, sat at the north. The two chiefs sat one to the north and one to the south of the drummers. Young-hawk whose father had formerly been a lance bearer was at the left of the chief while at his right sat Big-crow whose father had also been a lance carrier. The two men seated on either side of the priests were the lance bearers. Lone-chief, who owned the chief's pipe, sat on the south side and led the dance. Two errand men sat opposite each other at the north and south of the entrance, Skidi-man at the north and Good-eagle at the south.

Known-the-leader addressed the two assistants: "You two go to my lodge and bring the old lances, the four hand drums, and the four buffalo hoof rattles." They brought these and placed them before the singers. Then Skidi-man was sent for the sacred pipe which he placed crosswise in front of the drummers. The old lance staves were brought and set up near a pole that had been staked in the ground and tied, one on the north and one on the south side of the staked pole. Everything being in readiness, Known-the-leader said, "Drummers, chiefs, young and old men, we are about to renew the lances. You may wonder why we change. We have had the old ones many years, but I have dreamed that we must again replace them." [787]

Formerly, it was customary that the lances be kept until the priest dreamed that they be changed. This is the myth given for the lances:— 539 575

Before the creation, the stars were human beings. Certain of them were given great powers. Tirawahat gave stars the power to create all things. When the earth was created, the stars agreed to send Paruxti (the wonder being) to the earth, to see if it were ready to be peopled. The stars held a council, but forgot to invite Fools-wolves (star). (Whenever this star comes up, the wolves howl because they think it is the morningstar.)

Paruxti was sent to the earth in the form of a long-haired giant. He was daubed all over with the sacred red paint. He wore large moccasins with the hair inside and big flaps. Over his shoulders he wore a buffalo robe which covered him completely. Around his waist was tied a buffalo hair rope with several pendant loops at the back which represented rain.

The council caused a thunderstorm which was followed by a rainbow. This they broke in two, placing one half in front and the other behind the giant as a companion. The north star and the south star each furnished a man to carry the

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

dipped a horn spoon into the corn and placed the food near the lance. He made four passes with his hands towards the lance, then he placed the corn upon the rim of the fireplace, on the west side. He then took a piece of fat to the pile of corn, placed the fat on the corn, greased his hands and then made four passes over the lance with his hands. Then he handed the horn spoon to one of the men, who said, "Nawa." They ate and were dismissed. [575]

During the buffalo hunt it was customary for this society to follow at the rear of the procession. These men were once overtaken by the enemy. Their first act was to string the buffalo rope through their belts and thus they fought. When one of their number was killed, he was dragged around as the others fought. Eventually they were all killed. The society was never again reorganized. [726]

Once a man had a lance made as he wished to start the society again. A young man took it and went to hunt buffalo. He was attacked by the enemy, killed, and the lance taken away from him. Since then, the lance was never made and was considered an evil omen. [787]

The Brave Raven Society.

This is the important society among the Chauí and seems to have had a double function in that its emblem could lead the hunt as well as the line of battle. Among the Skidí it was a minor organization. The origin of this society is an integral part of the ritual for the leading Chauí bundle of which the head chief is the keeper but not the priest. This bundle is in two parts, or two bundles. The main bundle contained the ceremonial objects and was directly associated with the ritual; the secondary bundle contained the skins and feathers of birds. When a boy kills his first bird with an arrow, he naturally runs with it to his father. The father may then take his boy by the hand and lead him to the priest of the bundle, to whom the dead bird is presented. The priest thanks the boy and blesses him, after which the father and son go home. [224] [852]

After formally notifying the chief, or keeper of the bundle, the priest prepares the skin of the bird and puts it up to dry for four days. Then he takes it in and ceremoniously places it in the bundle, taking care to be able to identify it later.

During the autumn hunt the leader of the brave society notifies the members that the time has come for the gathering of sinew and the reserving of dried meat for the lance-renewing ceremony in the spring. Twelve volunteers are secured for this service. Each kills a buffalo and removes the sinew from the shoulders and back which is then dried and carefully packed away.

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They did not go into a fight until they were told not to; then they simply shot their arrows toward the enemy without taking much aim and then went to get them; or in other words, an idiotic performance. At all times of their lives they did things in reverse order. They never married or had anything to do with women. Whenever strange or mysterious animals were reported which were feared by other people, they would try to kill them. It is said that the society became extinct by all being killed in a battle except one, who afterwards disappeared. There are, however, several different stories as to how they were destroyed. 575

The Wonderful Ravens.

This society of the kaka waruxti, or wonderful ravens, had two undressed lances except for a crowskin hanging near the point. All members, except the pipe-bearer, had the skins of crows upon their backs. All painted black. The founder got the ritual and powers from a raven. There were four singers but no rattle bearers. Their chief function was to be ready for war; they wore the crow because this bird is known to be wary and hence it was believed that the society could foretell attacks. When attacks were predicted the society placed their lances outside against a pole. This was a public warning that precautions should be taken. [302] [825] [787]

The society had a brief existence, as most of them were once killed in battle, the remnants failing to reorganize.

The Big Horse Society.

Among the Chauí there was once an organization known as raris aruskutchu, big horse society. Many of the members bore plain long sticks and all wore caps of foxskin and painted themselves white. There were no drums, but eight singers who beat upon a piece of rawhide with sticks instead of drums. The society was for war, but took the warpath for private forays and never acted as soldiers in any capacity. They became extinct by the loss of most of their members in an engagement. [302]

Society of Crows.

The raris kaka, society of crows, was a lance society. They had two lances with war points and at four places on the shaft a string bearing crow feathers was tied. The members painted black but only on the joints of the body. [302]

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signals for the members to dance. All the songs are those of the founder and so entirely unlike those of others. In the last four songs there is great excitement.

The food offering with bowl and spoon is as before stated. The regalia are here the same as before.[1]

General Discussion. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Omaha hethu'-shka certain statements as to origin are made which are inconsistent with the writer's data. In the first place, the Pawnee have always said that the Omaha originally got their society from them, they having been guests at several iruska performances, adopted such of it as they comprehended and later elaborated the procedure into the present form, though some features are certainly Osage contributions. The Dakota first learned the dance from the Omaha, as they state (p. 48), but testify to its Pawnee origin. About fifty years ago Pawnee-Tom visited the Arikara and assisted Enemy-heart to inaugurate the ceremony. Later, Enemy-heart sold the dance to the Crow Indians and then to other tribes. The writer has studied the songs of the dance and finds that everywhere many of them are undoubtedly those of the Pawnee iruska and what is more to the point, bear the general characteristics of all Pawnee songs. The Dakota and Omaha, however, have many original songs of their own, some of which the Pawnee have borrowed. In general, from the data at hand, the writer considers it clear that the origin of the modern form of this dance lies between the Omaha and the Osage, but that it was derived from an older ceremony which the Omaha, and possibly the Osage, borrowed of the Pawnee.

It should be noted that in the Skidi iruska dog flesh is served. Four men wearing the feather belts scout for and capture the kettle. Then they take sticks and take out the dog's head for a leading man to count coup on. A kettle of corn is then brought in and handled in the same manner, except

[1] Author's note. While in a trance he saw the dead people dancing the iruska dance but in a different way from that of the old iruska dance. There were six drummers. The drum was painted black, the stick had coverings at the ends. There were six stations about the room, three on the north side and three on the south side. The station men had a forked stick stuck in the ground in front of them. There were feathers at the end of each fork and the sticks were wrapped with beads. The northeast stick was covered with black beads; the north stick with light blue beads; the northwest stick with dark blue beads; the southwest stick with yellow beads; the south stick, red; the southeast stick, white. Also he found out or was told there were that many minor gods in the heavens. When these station men get up to dance, all have to rise and dance. There are five sets of songs, ten songs in each set. The tunes are nearly the same as for the old iruska songs. The last ten are ghost dance songs. The last songs are exciting, and the dancers are given to excitement and tremble, falling down as in the ghost dance. The closing speech after the feast differs from the older form. It is as follows: Father is thankful for eating our smoke; father, his child, and the gods are thankful for eating our smoke; sun and moon are both made thankful for eating our smoke; our mother earth is thankful for eating our smoke; our dead relations are thankful for eating our smoke; now we have all smoked and eaten. After this speech, everyone leaves the lodge.

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262 796 that spoons are carried instead of sticks. Among the other divisions of the Pawnee, buffalo meat was used with a less formal procedure. The Skidi form of feast is now found among many tribes.

174 177 648 796 The whip bearers are probably of Omaha or Osage origin for in that tribe they are the police officers of a ceremony. The bearing of a sword is probably due to Pawnee influence, at least it was original with them. Once when at Washington, D. C., each Pawnee chief was presented with a sword for his aid (p. 557) which thenceforth became the badge of office. Some of the aids carried their swords to battle and counted coup with them. Later, the Pawnee scouts in the United States service carried swords and when discharged those who had struck enemies retained them. Now in the iruska all having struck enemies with tomahawks could demonstrate in the dance; so the bearers of swords came to have the same privileges.

The Ghost Dance.

668 796 According to the Pawnee, the ghost dance religion first came to the Arapaho, thence to the Cheyenne, the Kiowa and Comanche and finally to the Wichita.

787 In 1890 it was rumored among the Pawnee that a Messiah had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains and that all the dead Indian people would return to the earth. The story was that a Paiute Indian had died and was taken up to the top of a high mountain and laid out. After he had lain there four days, he revived and came down from the mountain. He told his people that while he was on the mountain his spirit had traveled in a strange and beautiful country; that on his journey he crossed a small stream of clear water and came to a cedar tree where he saw handkerchiefs of every color and all sorts of feathers. At the base of the tree he saw several pipes and different kinds of paint. He took a white cotton handkerchief and some of the red earth. He went on and as he neared a mound he saw someone standing there, clad in white and purple robes. This person had long hair, parted in the middle. He held out his hands to show the cuts in them, but did not look up. The man saw that he was the Messiah, the white man's Jesus, the son of the Father in the Heavens. The man noted by his manner that he wanted him to pass by for he did not speak, so he passed on his left and went on. Presently he saw in a valley an Indian village, extending along the whole bottom.

As he neared the village of tipis he noticed a man approaching. When they met he found the man was his father who embraced him and took him into the village. On the outskirts of the village he saw men playing javelin

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

games. The old men were playing with the big hoops and sticks; the boys with rings and sticks. He also saw some women playing with baskets and plum seeds and others playing with staves. He could not understand the speech of these people. When the two came to a tipi they entered and there the dead man saw his dead relatives, mothers, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. The old people sitting near the entrance, he was told, were his grandparents. He was given food and after eating he was told to watch the people who were dancing.

His father took him to the dancing ground. When they arrived, he saw the people dancing in a circle. The dancers were all painted and each wore feathers. Finally, he joined in the dance and learned some of their songs. While dancing he saw people acting queerly and seemingly possessed with a spirit. There were seven singers and two men with long poles acted as soldiers, but took no part in the dancing. Some men inside the ring ran from one person to another finally downing some of the people. These were mesmerizing one another. One man came to him, blew his breath upon his breast, embraced him, and finally blew his breath into his mouth, at which the newcomer fell into a trance. He arose quickly, however, and joined in the dance. He danced a long time until the man who had hypnotized him took him to one side and said, "Brother, you are now possessed with our power. You must return to your people and start this dance among them. Tell them you have seen the Messiah, the Son of the Father in the Heavens. He is leading us to your people. They must dance so they will also receive the power you now possess. We know you are living. Whatever you saw at the tree is yours. Give the red earth you find in the mountains to your people, let them paint their faces before they dance. Tell them of the Messiah and let them mourn as you now see these people do. We mourn for you and your people must mourn also. When you have started this dance among your people you will be able to come to us any time and we will teach you more about our ways. People will come to you from all over the country and you must tell them what you now see. This religion is for Indian people. The spirit will be sent to you. You must now return to your people."

The man then revived and went down from the mountain to his people. Night overtook him as he reached a valley. As he was going through some bulrushes trying to find a bed, he saw someone coming towards him on a mule. He saw that it was the same Messiah he had seen while in a trance. This time the one on the mule said, "My son, what you saw is all true. Tell your people, that I sent you, that my spirit will be with them." Then he disappeared. The man then made a bed of rushes and lay down. The next morning he arose and went on to his home.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 After they had eaten they danced again until ten o'clock. Men and
786 women returned to their tipis, mourning and crying and having shaking fits.
796 About five o'clock they began to dance again. This time there were about four men and three women who seemed to be trembling badly. They ran around the camp crying, "I do not want you, go away from me." About the third day, one of the women fell and lay on the ground about five minutes and then sat up. She began to cry and finally her crying turned into a song. One man went to her and she told what she had seen while she lay on the ground. The fourth day a young man fell and lay upon the ground all night. When he came to, he ran to the prophet's tipi and told what he had seen. The prophet ordered that all the people go upon a hill and hear the young man tell his story. This was about eight o'clock in the evening. When all the people were on the hill, standing in a line facing west, the young man was told to sit down in front of them, the village crier went and sat beside him. The young man told the following story:

668 When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I felt a queer
786 sensation passing through my body. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange
787 being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from
796 the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, "My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people." I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me, and said, "My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing." So we went on and there in the center of the village, our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying upon the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw.

668 The people went to him and as each person took hold of his hand, he
786 either fell or began to tremble. After this four men were selected to smoke
796 to the dead people. After the smoke everyone began to cry. Then the prophet and the new prophet ran around among the people throwing them

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

668 796 [177] and far from identical with the ghost dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White had based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true ghost dance. Some few years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct. The prescribed ceremony extended over four days. There were seven regular singers each wearing an eagle feather in his hair and seven assistant singers wearing down feathers.

In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they learned what is now [346] regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple. [361] Ordinarily, the Pawnee did not use the camp circle, but the modern ghost dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host. Otherwise, the procedure is about as previously stated.

The religion now flourishes, but has evolved into a Christian ethical [787] belief, demonstrated by a ritual. The trance and its intensity have passed out, but dreams and ordinary visions are still valued.

In the first days of the ghost dance some saw in their trances not ghost dance ceremonies but old societies like the lance dances, crazy dogs, dog [524] dance, the one horn dance, and forms of the iruska. Some time after 1904 the hand game was introduced into the ghost dance ritual by the dreams of a devotee. This has developed until it is about the only ritual now demonstrated. The game sets are kept in bundles and treated in the same general fashion as the regular Pawnee bundles. Special halls have been built for these ceremonies. In this as in all other games, the players take their hereditary sides of north and south.

The Peyote.

276 794 About 1890, two Pawnee youths visited the Quapaw where they learned something of the peyote cult. They brought back with them some of the buttons but a very meager knowledge of the ritual. Nevertheless, they practised eating it and made a few converts. Later on, a visiting Arapaho taught them the ritual. New converts were added and the cult continued a few years until a member under the influence of the drug had revealed to [177] him a new ritual and songs. At once this member became leader and gradually elaborated the ritual into which he introduced many Christian conceptions, because in the induced visions he frequently saw and talked with Christ.

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778 and therefore constituted a link between the people
796 and its divine giver. In the ceremonies connected with these bundles two ideas were basic,—one the idea of a sacrifice or offering, and the other that of a repetition, either through dramatization or ritual, of the acts performed by the divine giver. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star combined both ideas to an unusual degree.

175 The Morning Star sacrifice was performed only
782 by the Skidi band of the Pawnee. There seems good
796 evidence that it was carried out somewhat unwillingly, and that the officiating priests always found it a sore trial. Its performance was considered a religious duty, and this ceremony must not be confused with the torturing of captives as practised by several of the eastern tribes. The opposition to the sacrifice within the tribe itself increased until in about 1818 a young man, named Petahlayshahrho, rescued the victim in dramatic fashion, untying her from the scaffold at the moment of sacrifice and riding away with her. When safe, he gave her a horse, and sent her back to her own people. He then returned and declared that human sacrifices must cease. As he was a distinguished warrior and the son of the chief's sister, which according to the Pawnee system gave him the hereditary rignt to succeed his uncle, many strong men in the tribe supported his action. After this time, the ritual of the [178] sacrifice was still regularly performed as a formal matter, but no actual sacrifices are known to have taken place.

796 The actual time of the performance of the sacrifice is not fully known, but it seems to have been made in the late spring or summer of years when Mars was [787] morning star. It was usually made as the result of [821] a dream or vision in which the Morning Star appeared to some warrior and demanded it, but it might also be

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made as a result of some sign in the star itself, as when it appeared especially bright, or in years when there was a comet in the sky. It might also be performed without any direct intervention of the Morning Star, if some warrior had captured a suitable victim. 796 787 821

In this ceremony there was, coupled with the idea of sacrifice, an attempt to repeat the acts performed by the Morning Star in ancient times. These acts are recorded in a number of myths, not always consistent, of which the following is a good example:— 796

LEGEND

A long time ago Tirawa made the stars and gave them great power. He gave most of his power to the Morning star, who had a younger brother, the Sun. The Morning Star helped the Sun to have light. When Tirawa placed the stars in the heavens, they were just like human beings. In the east he placed those stars which were like men and gave the Morning Star and the Sun rule over them. In the west he placed those which were like women, with the Evening Star and the Moon as their rulers. Each had their village in the heavens, and the eastern stars knew that the western stars were women. After awhile some of the eastern stars sought the western stars in marriage. When the women stars saw a man star coming, they would tell the Moon, and she would go out to meet him. She would ask him why he came, and he would say, "I come to marry one of the women." She would answer, "That is what we want, come with me." They would walk together till they came in sight of the village. Then the Moon would stop and make a motion, and the ground would open so that the man star fell through and was killed. At last the Morning Star decided to go. He took with him his younger brother, the Sun, who carried upon his back a sacred bundle with a war club. As they traveled, the Morning Star went before 539 773

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came to magic animals which attacked them, first snakes, then water animals, then buffalo, and last bears. Each of these in turn the Morning Star killed with his club. Then the Moon had no more powers left, and the Morning Star and the Sun entered the village of the women stars. The Morning Star married the Evening Star, and the Sun married the Moon. They took them back to their own village. After a time a child was born to each couple, and these children were placed on earth. They married, and from them sprang the human race.

The Moon put all these obstacles in the way of the Morning Star, because she did not want the people on earth, in after times, to live forever. All these obstacles were sicknesses and troubles which would be brought down upon the people. But the Morning Star and the Sun can give power to men to destroy these ills just as they themselves destroyed the obstacles.

It has already been said that the sacrifice was most commonly made as a result of a dream or vision in which the Morning Star demanded it. Immediately on waking in the morning, the man who had had the dream went outside his lodge and began crying and mourning, his cries gradually becoming a song. He sang:—

"When he comes.
When he comes.
Father, I am seeking for you."

By this song he let the people know that he had seen the Morning Star in a vision.

It is said that the man who had had the vision sometimes did not obey the Morning Star, but more often he could neither sleep nor rest until he had captured a maiden for sacrifices. As soon as possible after the vision he went to the keeper of the Morning Star bundle and received from him the warrior's cos-

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hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast. 796

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity. 727 782 796 [302] [302] [776] [787]

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space 796 [361] [621]

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about to be prepared for the sacrifice, and that it was time for everyone to set out for the scaffold. The chief priest undressed the girl, went through the motions of washing her and combing her hair, and painted the right half of her body red and the left half black. Her skirt was then replaced, black moccasins were put on her feet, and a black robe fastened around her shoulders. Lastly a head-dress of twelve black-tipped eagle feathers, arranged like a fan, was fastened on her head. 727 782 796 [302] [292]

When the girl had been dressed, all resumed their seats and sang another song at the conclusion of which she was told to rise; and two men, chosen to lead her to the scaffold, came forward and placed thongs around her wrists. All then passed out of the lodge, with the girl in the lead and the priests following behind chanting. [533]

The rate at which the procession moved toward the scaffold depended largely upon the disposition of the girl. Everything was done to conceal the truth from her, and force was not used unless absolutely necessary. If she mounted the scaffold of her own free will, it was considered an especially auspicious omen. The procession was timed to reach the scaffold a few minutes before the Morning Star rose, so that the men who tied her to it could complete their work and leave her alone when the star appeared. [787]

While the girl was being tied to the scaffold, the men chosen for the last rites had assembled in the ravine to the east of it, where they were concealed from her view. A small fire was kindled there, and they prepared their paraphernalia. At the moment the Morning Star appeared, two men came forward bearing firebrands. They were dressed as priests, and had owl skins hung from their necks, showing that they represented the messengers of the Morning Star.

754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were feared and disliked by the better element. Like the medicine men, they were organized into a society, but nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a number of societies which were united by certain secrets which they had in common. In addition to these secrets, which were known to all medicine men, but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society and even each member had individual secrets. The oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their powers from a number of different guardians. In the other medicine societies, which were organized at a later date, all the members derived their powers from the same guardian. A man might become a medicine man as the result of a supernatural experience during which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine man who had derived his powers from that being, and asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils whose wives would remain with him in his booth in the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

539 chief of the Ski'-di band, and a progressive man of modern times. He
538 sent his children East to school at Carlisle, Pa.
Comanche Chief died September 9th, 1888.

THE PRISONERS OF COURT HOUSE ROCK

539 COURT HOUSE ROCK is a high, square-shaped bluff, or butte, on the
538 North Platte River. It is composed of a hard, yellowish clay, which is
133 but slowly eroded by the weather, though soft enough to be cut readily with a knife. On all sides except one, this rock or butte is nearly or quite vertical, and its sides, smoothed and polished by the wind and the rain, offer no projecting points, to serve as foot or hand holds for one who might wish to climb up or down. On one side there is a way by which an active man may reach the summit, where he finds a flat tableland of moderate extent.

539 A number of years ago a war party of Skidi, who were camped
538 near Court House Rock, were surprised by a party of Sioux. There were many of them, and they drove the Skidi back, and at length these were obliged to climb the steep side of Court House Rock. The Sioux dared not follow them up on to the rock, but guarded the only place where it was possible to come down, and camped all around the rock below to starve the Skidi out. The Skidi had nothing to eat nor to drink, and suffered terribly from hunger and still more from thirst. The leader of the party suffered most of any, for he thought that he would surely lose all his men. He felt that this was the worst of all. He must not only die, but must also be disgraced, because under his leadership the young men of his party had been lost. He used to go off at night, apart from the others, and pray to *Ti-ra'-wa* for help; for some way to save his party.

[187] One night while he was praying, something spoke to him, and said, "Look hard for a place where you may get down from this rock, and so save both your men and yourself." He kept on praying that night,

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9

THE PLANTING OF THE CROPS

Ground-breaking Ceremony—the Women's Role —Explanation of Ritual—Songs of the Ceremony —the Process of Preparing and Planting the Crops Explained—Cooperation in Fields Discussed— Dangers of Attack—the Swim at the End of the Planting Day

THE CORN WAS THE FIRST CROP to be planted and then came the beans, squashes, and melons. But before any planting could be done, the *Awari* or "Ground-breaking Ceremony" had to be performed. The four special ministers of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person kept watch along the creeks for the first leaves to appear on the willows; then they knew the time was right for the ritual. They also had to wait for the dark of the moon that signified darkness and germination. Now the four ministers met together in the lodge where the Skull bundle was kept to make a plan for the ceremony. The actual inception of the ceremony was during the past winter while they were on a buffalo hunt, when a woman had had a vision that she was the one to see that it was performed. She called on the help of her brother, who killed a special buffalo for her, and then she invited the four ministers and told them of her vision. Then she dried and packed the rest of the buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit to be used when the ceremony was performed in the spring.

This was the only Pawnee ceremony in which women played a major role, and the original visionary through whom the ceremony was instituted for the season was also a woman. But the ceremony itself was directed and carried through entirely by the men. Now with the sprouting of the willows it was time.

The woman of the house where the Skull bundle was kept got up

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10

THE CAPTIVE GIRL SACRIFICE

Importance of Sacrifice to Pawnees—Dream of Warrior and Initiation of Sacrificial Ceremony Preparations—Capture of Sioux Maiden—the Ceremony of Sacrifice for Creation to Morning Star—the Sacrifice in the Nineteenth Century—Its Interruption and End—the Heroism of Man Chief—Aztec Origins

AFTER THE CREATION CEREMONY in times past, the Pawnees had an awesome rite that they believed would ensure the fertility of their soil and the success of their crops. In the creation story, fruitfulness and light had come into the world because Morning Star and his realm of light had conquered and mated with Evening Star in her realm of darkness. Out of that contest, the first human being was conceived—a girl. From time to time the Morning Star demanded a girl in return.

He came as a vision to a warrior in his dreams on a night in the fall of the year. In the vision, Morning Star appeared as a man anointed with red paint, wrapped around with a buffalo robe, his leggings decorated with scalps and eagle feathers. There were soft down feathers in his hair and a single eagle feather stood upright in his scalplock. Holding his war club he spoke to the warrior in his dream: "I am the man who has power in the east. I am the Great Star (*Upirikutsu*). You people have forgotten about me. I am watching over your people. Go to the man who knows the ceremony and let him know. He will tell you what to do." When he awoke and went outside before dawn, the warrior saw the Morning Star in the sky and he knew he had been chosen for the heavy burden of making the sacrifice. He ran crying through the village to the house of the Morning Star priest, singing as he went, "When he comes,

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when he comes, father, I am seeking for you." When he arrived at the priest's house, they embraced and wept together, and then the priest filled a little pipe with tobacco and asked the warrior to tell of his dream. 773 796 782

After he had heard his vision, the priest filled the pipe and went outside where he lit it and offered it to the Morning Star so that he would bless the young man. When the pipe was smoked out, the priest returned, emptied the ashes, and sat for a while talking with the warrior. The priest again filled the pipe and handed it to the warrior who lit it in the fireplace and carried it outside offering the first puff to the Morning Star, begging his pity and his guidance. Then the priest told the warrior to go home and to return when he was ready. He thought deeply of his forthcoming task as the priest had instructed him and at last asked the people in his lodge to make him several pairs of moccasins for the journey, filled with balls of pounded up sweet corn and some parched corn for his food. Everyone in the village was watching him, and some experienced warriors who had decided to go with him also asked their families to make similar preparations. [787]

The visionary returned to the priest's lodge where they sat together for four days. When he came on the fourth day, the priest took the Morning Star bundle down from where it was hanging over the sacred altar and removed the holy objects that the warrior would need, lighting the pipe from the bundle and offering smoke to each of them in the required fashion. The objects were an otterskin collar, Mother Corn, a hawkskin, an extra pipe from the bundle, some soft down feathers, and the skin of a wildcat, its legs filled with native tobacco and paints. These things the warrior would need for his costuming when he impersonated the Morning Star so that he could set out on his fateful journey. The ceremony took four days, and then the warrior went through the village to call on the men he knew were ready to come with him. He also chose a number of assistants—a younger man, four scouts from among the volunteers, and helpers and errand men. While the priest instructed him, the others went to their lodges and got their things. At midnight the priest went outside waiting for the Morning Star to rise and then went inside and costumed the warrior to impersonate him—a buffalo hair rope around his waist, an otterskin collar around his neck with a hawkskin fastened on and suspended from his right shoulder, the ear of Mother Corn from his left shoulder. He painted his face with the red ointment—two streaks on either side of his face and a bird's foot on his forehead (astronomically unidentified; "right on the Milky Way"). He gave him the pipe to carry in his left hand or in his robe with the stem pointing upward. As the Morning Star was rising the priest said, "Here is your man. He is wearing your clothing. Protect him and make him successful." Then he led the warrior around the fireplace, faced him toward the entrance, his assistant beside him and the others following behind in [778]

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to kill a fat buffalo cow whose tongue and heart would be dried and used in the sacrifice ceremony.

Returned from the buffalo hunt, the diligent search of the Morning Star priest was rewarded when one morning the Morning Star arose ringed in red, giving the signal for the ceremony to begin. The warrior visionary was notified to clear out his lodge as the ceremony would be held there. The lodge was prepared, the warrior was dressed in a special costume for this role and the girl was brought in and dressed for her role. Then the scaffold was built and the sacrifice carried out. These proceedings occupied five days from the time the Morning Star gave the signal.

In the visionary's house all the beds were cleared out and a new fire of cedar logs was built. The Morning Star priest brought in the bundle in order to costume the visionary: around his waist a long belt of otterskin with sixty-five scalps taken in war, symbolizing war, death, and also the renewal of life, as the otter is the first animal to come up from the water after the winter ice and take the first breath of life for the year; a feather to place in his scalplock; and a war club to hold in his hand. So dressed he ran through the village calling on his relatives for contributions of new mats, food, and wood for the ceremony. The women came bringing mats, wood on their backs, cooked corn, and buffalo meat. Four long poles of special kinds were obtained to place radially in the fireplace extending outward in the semicardinal directions and meeting at the middle. They would last for the four day ceremonial period, being pushed inward as they burned down. Each was a different kind of wood appropriate to the semicardinal direction in which it was pointed: elm, northeast; boxelder, southwest; cottonwood, northwest; willow, southeast. The willow stood for death like the death star and at the same time the renewal of life in the spring. At the altar of sacrifice, willow and otter would be fastened together to express this symbolism.

The ceremonial lodge in order, they were now ready to begin the first day's ceremony. The chief of Village-across-a-Ridge (*Tuwahukasa*) that owned the Morning Star bundle, entered and seating himself at the northwest, inquired whether they were ready to receive the Wolf man and the girl. On the south side of the lodge there was a large buffalo bull robe with two cushions on it for them to sit on. As they entered, the man suffused the girl with smoke from the burning sweetgrass and then he "incensed" himself. The Wolf man sat on the southeast of the two cushions, the girl at his left with her bowl and spoon before her, the visionary at the south. Others came and seated themselves according to rank and the direction of their celestial bundle powers in the firmament, and there were several old men who were to talk to the girl and the Wolf man whenever there was a pause in the proceedings. Each one had suffused himself with sweet grass smoke as he entered and painted himself

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12

CLOSING EPISODE OF PLANTING PERIOD

Young Corn Plant Ceremony—Seasonal Orientation—Necessity of a Visionary—Ritual of Ceremony Explained—Second Role of Visionary on Buffalo Hunt—Conclusion of Ceremony and Beginning of Weeding and Cultivating of Corn

243 THE CLOSING EPISODE of the planting period was the carrying through of the young corn plant from a seedling to its "adolescence," when it could be "laid by" for the summer until they returned in the fall from the buffalo hunt and it would be ready for harvest.

The four semicardinal-direction bundle priests kept careful watch, and when the sacred corn seeds had sprouted to about two inches and had four good leaves, they knew that it was time to conduct the ceremony of the young corn plant. In this ceremony the priests prepared the young corn plant for her role as Mother to all the people. The young corn plant was carried through a series of ritual steps symbolizing the birth, infancy, and growth to first motherhood of a young girl. The corn could then mature and become Mother of the people.

The practical steps, as always, were preceded by a ceremonial preparation. The conduct of the ceremony was under one of the south semicardinal-direction bundles—either the Southwest or the Southeast in alternate years. As always, although the ceremonies were seasonally oriented, they were initiated by a visionary who received a mandate from the cosmic power involved, instructing him to see that the ceremony was performed. In this case the vision always came to a man who was an outstanding buffalo hunter and eagle trapper. The vision would have occurred while they were out on the winter buffalo hunt; as soon as possi-

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ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

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243 793 787 788 rooftops to see the priests get the young plant of the holy corn. The priests were wrapped in their buffalo robes with the hair side out and were rattling their gourds and singing. They felt it to be a long journey symbolically signifying the eons of the creation, and the song was sung to recapitulate all its stages—the stages that pertained to women (the land, the vegetation, the waters and the cultivated seeds), and the stages that pertained to men (the moccasin, its string, the robe, the power of the universe, Mother Corn, and the thunder). These stages of the men symbolized conception and birth—the moccasin, a pocket-like covering into which something is thrust; the moccasin cord, the umbilical cord; the robe, the enveloping membrane of the foetus; the creative power of the universe, the sacred nature of conception and birth; Mother Corn, germination; and the thunder, the fertilizing principle. The little corn plant they uprooted in the field would symbolize all these things.

[772]

243 793 787 When they arrived at the sacred corn hill, they ranged themselves around it, the visionary to the west, the four semicardinal-directions priests in their appropriate stations. They again sang the steps of the creation as they sat in their places, and then the priests remained seated while the visionary rose and prepared to smoke his pipe with the powers above. He walked to the north side of the hill, where the errand man lighted his pipe, then proceeded around it, pausing to offer the mouthpiece to the powers in the order directed by the Evening Star priest before they had left the lodge. He offered it to Heaven, the Evening Star, the Morning Star, the Big Black Meteoric Star in the northeast, the North and Lucky Wind, a great legendary hero *Pahukatawa*, then southeast to the Sun and southwest to the Moon. Next he emptied the ashes on the corn hill and gave the pipe to the ranking priest. Then he sat down at the west and in counterclockwise order beginning at the northeast he pressed into the cornhill a gift of little pellets of buffalo-heart fat and tongue fat wrapped around with some tobacco. He alternated his offerings, beginning with tongue fat at the northeast and heart fat at the northwest, and so on.

[782]

Now the most solemn part of the ceremony was to be enacted. They were to uproot the sacred corn sprout in a symbolic act of birth. The visionary stood at the west and instructed the Southwest (or Southeast) priest to ease the plant out of the ground very gently so that he would not disturb any part of the delicate roots. The roots symbolized the moccasin strings and the seeds, the moccasin or covering for power. The priest wrapped the "newborn" plant in buffalo wool and handed it to the visionary, who placed it on his back in his buffalo robe as a woman carries her child. Now they began again to sing the steps of the creation and lined up preparatory to returning to the ceremonial lodge. Everyone in the village was watching and listening as they sang on their way back.

793 243 In the lodge, the Evening Star priest unwrapped the plant from its

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wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe to it to smoke.

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others.

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle.

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress

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243 any taboos. He was always fed first before the others at every meal so
• 787 that his mood would remain pleasant. He lived and moved in the encampment of the chief who was leading the hunt during that season.

[792] In the previous ceremony, when the seeds of the sacred corn had been distributed to the ministers of the various bundles for planting, the visionary of that ceremony had been constituted a holy man for the well-being of the corn crop. He also had to remain wrapped in his buffalo robe all summer and to observe similar taboos until the harvest was in. Presumably, as he remained wrapped in his robe, he was impersonating the ear of corn itself in its husk.

In the final stages of the young corn ceremony, the priest went through the village, praising the donor of the cowskin and buffalo-hair belt in which they dressed the young Mother Corn, referring to the robe as the symbolic wrapper into which a germ of life could be thrust and the buffalo-hair rope as the string.

The ceremony of the Young Mother Corn was concluded with a feast in which all who had participated shared in the meat of the buffalo that the visionary had consecrated on the previous winter hunt. His wife usually added a donation of boiled corn to round out the banquet.

243 Until this ceremony was completed, no woman could go into her field and begin to weed and cultivate it. Now the women all went into their fields carrying their hoes. First they would pull out the weeds one by one from the corn hills by hand and then pile up the earth around the young growing plants. The corn was hilled up so high around the plant that the leaves barely stuck out at the top; they were compared with an earth lodge with the smoke issuing out of the smokehole in the roof.

It was early morning and the dew had fallen, and as the women worked around and around the corn hills their bodies would get soaking wet. After they had hilled up the earth around the plants, the women would kneel close to the hill and pat it all around with their hands to make it smooth and even. The woman's left side, as well as her face and hands, would become covered with mud. To mention this fact to a woman on her way home from the fields would be the height of pre-
[515] sumption. On the way home everyone took a swim in Beaver Creek and washed off their hoes. Again the young women splashed with their feet on the surface of the water and tried to make as loud a report as possible by slapping the surface of the water with their hands. The old man again sat up on his earth lodge and addressed the community at large. He reminded everyone that the women were now "disfiguring themselves" for him, getting all muddy, and that while their hoes were still full of mud, all of them would be eating the food that the women
[606] had raised. Some of the women went in groups to cultivate the previously planted fields of their new daughters-in-law, singing while they worked

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*224 156 Some men stayed behind in the village because they wanted to be alone for a while to think and make peace with themselves. They would plan to catch up with the party in five, six, or even ten days, living on limited rations of dry meat as they were accustomed to doing when they went scouting over the country for days and even weeks.

*224 156 • 787 [154] Such a man would sit quietly on the roof of his lodge and sometimes go inside and lie down. Not uncommonly he would have a vision. The vision is the Pawnee's introspective device for organizing his wishes, goals, and purposes. Mark Evarts expressed the mood in the following terms:

> One man was left there alone. He just wanted to stay. He thought he could go any time—in five or ten days. He might even not go at all. He just felt like staying. He didn't think of any danger. Early in the morning before sunrise, he sat on the roof of the earth lodge looking about, way off. He goes into the lodge and lies down; he doesn't even make a fire. He has a little dried buffalo meat to eat. He has gone three or four times on the war path and has experience in how to be hungry. He is thinking about how far they may have gone in the ten or fifteen days that have passed. He can't quite make up his mind to go and join the people on the march.
>
> One evening while he was sitting on the roof and it was getting dark, he heard a woman crying in east village (Village-in-the-Bottomlands). As he listened to the crying he decided to go where it was coming from. When he arrived he found a woman sitting wrapped in a buffalo robe and crying. "Where do you come from?" he asked. "Right here," she said. "I am crying because they have all gone hunting and I had my children (litter of mice) in that sacred bundle. In five or six days they will be getting buffalo and sacrificing the meat. A priest will untie the bundle and when they open it, there will be a nest where my children are. Maybe the priest will have to give up my children to them. That's why I am crying. I am poor. I wish you could go and get my children before they open the bundle. Get my children and come back with them." "I'll go right now," the man said. The woman thanked him and he got up and went directly to get his quiver, bow, and arrows and left that night.
>
> He knew how to catch up with the line of march through a short cut and starting out in the morning he traveled all day. He stopped a little while and smoked and then trotted on his way, hurrying to reach the group. In the camps everyone had been wondering why he had not come along. They thought perhaps he had been killed. He arrived about nine o'clock in the morning, just as the priest was taking down the bundle.
>
> The people in the camps called to him as they saw him approach,

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but he walked right through until he stood before the priest as he was untying the bundle. The five priests were ranged at the west and he went to the one in the middle and rubbed his hands on him in blessing and then the others in turn and then whispered to the leading priest, "Untie it gently because in the north side of the bundle there is something." The priest understood and after all the bundles had been unwrapped, the four little mice were found alive in a nest inside one of them. "These are the ones I came for. I must go back now. She said they might be starving." He returned at once by the way he had come and on the evening of the fifth day, got to the village where the woman was sitting. "Here they are now," he said, and after she had fed them she said to him, "I am a woman and can take care of my children. I can get any food I want. Now I am going to predict for you, for I had my children in that bundle and it was only you who saw them, and because of that I have something to tell you. I am a woman and I don't have much power, but now everything you do will be successful. We mice are all over the world and we can talk to you anywhere." Her prediction came true and he became an important man. Sometimes two or three men might stay behind in the village after everyone had left on the hunt and catch up later. They would sit alone, scattered out in widely separated lodges. Sometimes they would have a vision.

By 1867 there was a class of Stay-at-Homes who were able to remain behind in comparative safety from attack because of the proximity of the white town of Columbus, about 22 miles from the village. They would set out from the villages with the others, traveling to the first stop on the Platte River and then part company and go toward the town. They were mainly men and women who were unmarried and unattached, though more rarely a couple or a whole family would have to remain because they did not have horses or because their arrangements for joining a tent had fallen through. In the past all of them that were able-bodied would have gone along, but now many more remained behind. For people who had no tent or no horses, going along would have meant attaching themselves to a family and receiving board and lodging in return for performing minor services. They felt they might be open to humiliation if someone seemed to be giving them orders or telling them to hurry with what they were doing. When plans were being made for leaving, a group of women in this position would get together and talk among themselves; "If I go I have to work for someone else. I'll have to haul wood and help the other women and they might not give me enough dry meat in return." Another would say, "That's what I think. It might be hot. And they might not get many buffalo." Some single men would congregate in a similar way and say, "I don't feel like going." "Look how far they have to go. I think what you say is right. We have legs and can get plenty of

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Star. If during the night one had dreamed a bad dream, one might swallow a great deal of water and regurgitate it before eating.

White Woman was making the grease bread and No Corn was making the coffee. During these preparations, Victory Call sat by smoking his pipe.

By the time Horse Rider was through bringing in the horses, breakfast was ready. After they had all eaten, the women cleaned the dishes, using the plant known as water string or "false indigo" (*Amorpha fruticosa*, Gilmore, p. 93) to rub on the dishes and buckets to sweeten them while washing. This plant grew close to the creeks with its roots in the water; the leaves and stems were used and the roots discarded. In winter, strips of the bark were taken from the dry stalks. False indigo was invaluable, particularly on the march; you might find nothing but boggy water in a depression and the plant would freshen it. It could also be used to make palatable meat that had a gamey flavor like wildcat, by boiling it in two waters with the plant and pouring off the water each time, after which it could be cooked in the ordinary way and tasted good. The plant was spread on the ground while butchering to keep the pieces of meat clean.

The dishes having been cleaned, they were ready to dismantle the camp and load the horses. Two or three old ladies were waiting nearby for Grandma to join them. They would set out at once to get an early start, carrying a little ration of pounded up sweet corn and sugar to sustain them on the way.

As soon as they had eaten, the two men saddled up the horses while White Woman prepared to dismantle the tent. She shook the tent pegs loose and pulled them out, then began to fold over the tent cover while it was still on the frame, first pulling one side around to the back and folding it over and then the other side; pulling down the "backbone" pole with folded cover on it, she untied the stick where it was attached at the top and bottom and put it aside. The tent skin was then folded down the middle lengthwise and evenly rolled from the bottom end toward the top, then tied around the middle with the string that was there for the purpose (see Figure 19-1). Additional ropes were used to tie the roll securely across the ends. Now White Woman dismantled the wooden frame, and the poles were divided evenly so that they could be tied to the horse's back in two even bunches.

Only the oblong rawhide containers were now left standing, as they had been placed next to the back wall of the tent. Meanwhile No Corn had been rolling up the bulrush mats that were on the ground and tying them in the middle with the strings that were provided there. She was also rolling up the blankets.

Now that everything had been dismantled in the camp, the next job was loading up. The horse was brought around close to where the containers were. Horse Rider and No Corn stood on one side and Victory Call

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They were very tired but when the policeman called out, "Get ready," they had to pack and go on. They arrived at the river about five in the evening and then began to cross preparatory to camping on the north bank. All along the line, word passed that the water was low—a foot or less on the average. Here and there were deep holes with large fish swimming in them which could easily have been taken; they liked fish but they were much too tired and busy crossing to bother with anything. As soon as they got to the north side they all camped. Fishing was often done in Beaver Creek with a decorticated willow stick mat. Some men used a gunny sack as a fish net. They preferred catfish, but also took buffalo fish and the boys sometimes got sunfish. Boys took turtles and brought them home to make soup. But on this occasion not only were they too tired to pay attention to the fish but they also had to have corn husks to wrap them in in order to boil or roast them, and these were unavailable.

When they were camped on the north bank, a few small parties went out and hunted buffalo, but when this camp was broken up they were officially headed for home. The night before, the military police had officially resigned their office and White Eagle had stepped down from his leadership of the hunt. He thanked them all and reviewed the events of their expedition, and then Lone Chief of Village-across-a-Ridge proposed that Leading Chief, of Village-in-the-Bottomlands, now lead them all back to their settlement for the rest of the way home. This was appropriate, as Leading Chief and Village-in-the-Bottomlands had given White Eagle, their son-in-law, many kinds of special cooperation and helped to make their venture a success. Young men would bounce a buffalo leg bone along the ground to see how many camps along the Republican they would have to make before they could start north for the Platte. The bone might bounce end over end five or six times.

Various donations of dried buffalo meat had been pledged for the sacred bundles and the cults, but of special interest to everybody was the Grand Opera that the associated doctors would give after the harvest, lasting thirty days. At their next encampment, Big Doctor, head of the association, called for his two errand men to go to all members, apprentices, and any who aspired to enter and ask for their donation to the forthcoming ceremony. As they set out through the camp each errand man would pick a dry weed, *hawastatu*, with a stem as thick as a pencil, and when a doctor reported that he had a parfleche of meat to contribute, the errand man broke off a piece of the stalk and placed it in his hand to keep count. The two errand men arrived back at Big Doctor's tent, dumped out the small pieces of weed stem before the doctor and proceeded to count them, the sum in this case coming to sixty parfleches. At an earlier time, when the Skidis were more numerous, one hundred and

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34

PREPARATION FOR THE GRAND OPERA

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The Doctors' Profound Connection with the Animal World—Hypnotic Powers—Organization of the Doctor Lodge—Animal Cults—Construction of Images—Ideology of the Doctors—the Ceremonial Mode: Fighting and Sleight of Hand—Gaining Animal Knowledge—Getting the Cedar Tree for Ceremony

796 THE DOCTORS' OPERA had to do neither with the ordered cosmos nor with
756 the well-regulated world of the cultivated plants, but with the mysterious realm of the wild animals and their wild plant environment. The
[622] chief and the priest to whom the cosmic powers spoke in visions, were
[793] men of reason who spoke out clearly on what they thought, while the
[787] doctor who communed with the animal world had a slow, deliberate, introspective mein, seldom if ever making clear pronouncements. The
756 animal cults all had their origin in the experience of an individual man who in despair had reached out to the universe at large and received a vision from an animal who was ready to intercede for him and help him work out his problems. He had received special knowledge that would help him cure the sick through the properties of the plants and other curative procedures. In addition to this kind of knowledge, the animal also transmitted to his protegé the power of hypnotism and suggestion that gave him control over animals and other people and, if he
756 was skillful enough, over the enemies of the tribe. The Pawnee animal
173 cults were the result of traditions that had been handed down from one person to another and elaborated in the course of time. People who

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The kind of experience involved had a profound personal value. The way in which this knowledge was conceived is perhaps indicated by the personality attributed to the doctor—slow, deliberate, thoughtful and, to a considerable degree, introspective. As a more practical measure of social esteem perhaps was the fact that during the previous summer buffalo hunt, 60 parfleches of dried buffalo meat had been pledged in support of the performance, and in former times, before the population had been so heavily reduced, 140 parfleches were donated in one season.

The mode in which the doctors operated during their ceremony was of two kinds. One was the inducing of a trance state in the other doctors: utilizing the motions of the animal that was their special cult mentor. This was called *patsaku*, "shooting," and was also metaphorically referred to as "fighting." The second kind of activity of the doctors was a highly skilled sleight-of-hand performance, *tawaruku*, so expertly carried out that the illusion was completely convincing to the spectators. The metaphor for this kind of performance was "playing" or "romping," as of a child. The skill of the illusion in both cases has been attested to by the most hard-headed outside observers and this required extensive preparation and a long process of learning. The props were carefully designed to achieve the desired illusory effect and the strategy was planned with great precision, involving accomplices in the audience and special lighting effects developed by regulating the fire in the fireplace.

In view of these deliberate and extensive preparations for illusion, the question has often been raised of how these ceremonies could be regarded as religious in character. From my long experience with my informant, who retained a good deal of his old belief, it was the success in creating the illusion that was the mark of favor of the supernatural mentor, and therefore the performance was sincerely believed to be a religious experience. He would say, "If one does not have faith, he will fail." He cited examples where people of insufficient faith caused injury to themselves and to others while trying to perform. The success of the illusion depended upon the dexterity and agility of the performer and his ability to deflect the attention of the spectator just long enough for him to make the necessary shifts. There may possibly have been some measure of self-induced trance such as occurred to the priests incidentally in the course of the creation ceremony. (Our own knowledge of the subject is too elementary to identify the situation psychologically.)

A major difference between our experience and theirs should be especially noted. The Pawnees as well as many peoples who practiced these arts were in constant association with wild animals in their natural habitat, an experience which is entirely absent in our own world. They lived within a world of wild animals in their hunting and even in defense of their settlements, they had to have an intimate knowledge of the emo-

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tional as well as the physical structure of these animals. The device of animal impersonation by dressing up in animal skins and imitating their sounds and motions is universally reported for hunting peoples and must go back to the very dawn of man's history. It may be that some degree of self-induced trance or control of the prey in these terms may have been involved in these operations. In any case, an intense rapport with the animals was involved.

Each doctor developed his own "animal repertoire." We may be able to gain some insight into the relation between the doctor and his animal mentor from an actual case of a transfer of animal powers between two brothers who decided to make a fair exchange of their different knowledge.

Victory Call was anxious to get Bear knowledge from his older brother, Sitting Hawk, who was a leader of the Bear Lodge in the Doctor Association. One day when they were alone together he broached the subject. Sitting Hawk, however, was not willing to part with what he knew for nothing. He said, "I want something there on your side. We're going to trade." "You're my own brother," said Victory Call, "and you won't teach me for nothing?" "You're my own brother, too, and I know you won't teach me for nothing either," said Sitting Hawk. We should explain that Victory Call was the leader of a private doctor cult the *Raris-ta*, Dance-Deer or Whistle Dance involving the mescal bean that had become so prominent among the Pawnees that it was developing into a feared rival of the Doctor Association itself. Two generations before, this cult had been borrowed from the Wichita, the Caddoan-speaking kinsmen of the Pawnees to the south. Among other kinds of knowledge, rattlesnake power was involved in the teachings. It is hard to know what plants were involved in connection with the curing of snakebite or the control of the snakes. Members of the *Raris-ta* could handle a weed that was thought to be poisonous to other people, though there is no proof that this was the case. It was undulating in form like the snake itself. People were warned not to touch the plant unless they were members of the society. It was said of them that they had "snake-shot" or power, *rut-patsat-kuriraru*, "snake-shot-to-possess-or-own." Weeds associated with rattlesnakes have variously been identified from other tribes—a Mexican mentioned Dodder or Love Vine (*Cuscuta paradoxa* Raf.), saying that snakes took it into their dens for food; from the Dakota Indians there is a report that Bittersweet (*Celastrus scandens* L.) was known as snake food. The botanical identity of the Pawnee plant, however, is not known. In the cosmic mythology it was said that the jealous Fools-the-Wolves Star (Sirius) who had felt himself excluded from the original Council of the Gods, was angered when people told irreverent stores about Wolf or Coyote. Although in winter he couldn't control the situation, in summer he could enlist the aid of the Snake Star (Scor-

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BREACHES OF THE DOCTORS' RULES

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The Young Doctor Decides to Eat Food at Altar —the Hypnotizing That Follows—the Younger Men Hypnotize Big Bear—This Power of Pawnees Discussed

AFTER THE THIRD Big Dance, everyone was getting tired, especially the errand men. The individual doctors had various matters to attend to at home, and even the main doctors had to leave the lodge at some time during the day. One day the main doctors were all off resting and had left one of the younger doctors sitting in Big Doctor's place so that he could watch the things at the altar. While he was sitting there, a donation of corn and soup was brought in. Some of the other doctors in the lodge decided they would like to eat some of it right away. The young doctor at the west decided that, after all, since they were hungry, they should eat some of it. He asked three of the others to join him at the west and ordered the errand man to serve them and also the other doctors that were in their booths. They made a small offering of the corn to the powers and then proceeded to eat. 756 784

Finally, when some of the other doctors came in and found they had eaten some of the food that was donated for all of them, they became indignant. They went about the fireplace, quivering and waving their eagle-wing fans and hypnotized the offenders. Brave Shield who was the first to come in, hypnotized the man who had been left in charge of the things at the altar. He caused him to come around the north side of the fireplace and made him fall so that he hit his head against the pillar of the lodge. Then he made the offender get up and come outside and fall down, where he was left on the ground with blood coming out of his mouth. The other two doctors who had come in at the same time as Brave Shield, 756 784 787

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spirited out the others who had been eating the corn and also the errand man who had served them. They fell down outside in the same way as the first man. When the first recovered from his trance, he came inside and sat down in Big Doctor's place at the west. The other three also came out of their trance and resumed their places next to him. The others who had eaten the corn also began to recover and to run into their booths. Those at the west had not yet been dismissed by the angry doctors.

Brave Shield and the other doctors went back to their booths, but the young doctor at the west was angry in his turn and decided to take out those who had hypnotized him. He picked up the eagle-wing fan from among the sacred objects at the west and, going about the fireplace, spirited Brave Shield outside. He did the same to the other two. He then went back into the lodge and again sat down at the west, telling his three companions they could go back to their booths if they wanted to. The three he had spirited out now went back to their booths and the whole affair was ended. When Big Doctor heard about it on his return, he simply laughed at the whole affair.

Big Bear who was the errand man on the south side was absent from the lodge for about three days. Three of the younger men decided to get him to come back. The enterprise was initiated by Might-Be-Chief, son of Old-Man-That-Chief. He was about fifteen or sixteen years old at the time, and he was sent around on so many errands in Big Bear's absence that he began to resent it. "Big Bear ought to be doing this," he thought, "I'll get him back." Big Bear, on his part, was pretty tired by this time and wanted a rest. Might-Be-Chief tried to enlist help from two young men, Fox Chief and Man Chief, but Fox Chief demurred, saying, "He's our uncle. We can't do that to him." But they were finally persuaded by Might-Be-Chief's argument that he ought to be there, and they all went to Big Bear's lodge.

Big Bear was sitting on top of his lodge when they got there and they said, "Look at him—the way he sits there as if he had nothing to do!" Then all of them walked back and forth before his eyes and then all three waved fans in front of him until he rolled off the earth lodge. When he got up they made him follow them as they ran, pushing and twisting him around any way they wanted to. Finally when they got to the water they caused him to roll in and wet his buffalo robe and all his clothes. When he got home, he gave his clothes to his wife and dressed in whatever dry clothes he had and went back to the Doctor Lodge. He was furious and went straight to the Elk Booth spiriting Might-Be-Chief outside. Then he went to the Bear Booth and first took out Fox Chief, then coming back again for Man Chief. The three young doctors didn't mind, as they had succeeded in getting Big Bear back to his post in the Doctor Lodge.

Sometimes when a doctor went home at night he went to asleep with

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his wife and then the doctors might go after him in this way. They would spirit him out onto the dance grounds outside the Doctor Lodge; then he would go home, get his buffalo robe, and return. 756

From these instances it should be clear that the Pawnee preoccupation with illusionism, hypnotism, and suggestion was neither mere theater nor pure ritual. The power of trance induction was regarded as a threat and a means of control. Possibly the hunter found in it a method of communication with the wild animals and control over them. It is very evident that it was considered a way of immobilizing the enemy. Trance induction was called "fighting" or "shooting at the image or shadow," and illusionism by sleight of hand as a milder form of psychological control was called "playing" or "romping" as of children. Our present preoccupation with psychology and psychosomatic problems should point the way to its connection with healing. The cultivation of these psychological states in the Doctor Lodge was obviously something more than pure supernaturalism. 756 787 [626]

The final episode in the Opera was a contest between the Buffaloes and the Bears in which the Buffaloes reduced the Bears psychologically to mere puppies, and in this way the Buffaloes are no longer afraid. 756 796 536

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1.	hiwiri	Wiwitawia
2.	"	Now it comes flying
3.	"	"
4.	"	"
5.	"	"
6.	"	hita
		feather-coming

The two men continued to talk together that night in the lodge and New Young Dog told Warrior about the rabbit learning that he wanted to know. Should anyone come in and see the sparks from their pipe and hear the whispering, they would know that the two men were to be left alone and would go straight to their beds as they were talking of something important. The next time the dance was held, Warrior followed after New Young Dog. After he had carried out his performance, New Young Dog addressed the assembled company saying, "What you have seen me do here today, I am giving to this fellow here, Warrior. This is my teaching." From this time on Warrior was able to do the rabbit dance and could make a rabbit skin come alive and be a rabbit.

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In this way, the original Wichita Deer Dance took on its Pawnee form. By 1867 it had become a typically elaborate Pawnee ceremony. Sleight-of-hand performances and trance induction were both modes in which they operated as they did in the Doctor Lodge. But unlike the Doctor Lodge where animal costumes and animal impersonations celebrated their communion with the animals, in the Deer Dance, war was the predominant theme and each of the members at the stations bore the name of a tribe, the opposing north and south sides representing attack and counterattack. The ceremony was carried through ten consecutive sessions, nine in the night and a tenth in the daytime with a number of rest days between. Technically, they conceived that the all-day tenth and final episode was the actual ceremony and the nine night sessions simply preliminary to it. The nine night sessions comprised several different phases. In the first five, there was a program of four or more sleight-of-hand performances, chiefly in sequence. As in the Doctor Dance, sleight of hand was referred to as "playing." Following these "playing" sessions, going on very late into the night was a series of "fighting" or hypnotic episodes. But these differed from the Doctor Lodge "fighting" which was simple trance induction; in the Deer Dance, the fighting consisted of hypnotic interference with a sleight-of-hand performance while it was in progress, confusing the performer and making it impossible for him to complete his feat. The difference between the two kinds of "fighting" was recognized in the names they were called—the "fighting" of the Doctor Lodge was "I shoot at him," *wi-tatix-tsaaku*, "now-I at him-shoot" (abbreviated as *patsaaku*) while

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for the Deer Dance they said, "They shoot at his *image*," wi-tit-ir-*awi*-tsaku, "now-they at him-*image*-shoot." This distinction is significant as it reflects the difference in emphasis between the two ceremonies. The emphasis of the Doctor Lodge is on the alliance of man with the animals so that they give him confidence, enabling him to cure the sick or carry out whatever his purposes may be including war expeditions. In the Deer Dance, power over the enemy is a major leitmotif. The use of shamanism as a kind of psychological warfare against the enemy is a known device among other tribes. That the Pawnees were quite successful in this regard is attested by an account collected by a French visitor, Tixier, from their enemies, the Osage, in 1839–1840. He states:

> The Mahs (Skidi Pawnee) do not lose courage; their warlike virtues are so great that one brave is often seen setting out by himself to go five and six hundred miles away to steal horses at the hazard of his life, for all the nations are at war with this tribe.
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> Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack. They can warn one another by imitating the cries of wild animals, and also create anxiety among the horses and cause them to stampede; so the Osage claim that the Pawnee are sorcerers whose medicine can make nights darker, attract storms, put the warriors to sleep, and stampede the horses. . . . One of them enters the camp of the enemy alone and without trying to hide his coming into it. He strokes the horses and, of course, does not arouse any suspicion; he cuts the tethers and the reins; then, suddenly jumping on a fast horse, he gallops away uttering his war cry, while the horses scatter on the prairie, where the Pawnee will soon capture them. On other occasions, if all the warriors are asleep, he crawls into a lodge and silently kills and scalps a brave, whose horses he steals away afterwards.

When they were living at Pahaku, near Fremont in 1850 and the Ponca attacked and were about to burn up the Pawnees caught inside their earth lodges, Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy dressed up like a medicine man, came out and succeeded in thoroughly frightening the enemy so that they were repulsed; she was also able to kill one of them near the lodge, armed simply with a stout stick. There seems some likelihood that there was some actual functional value in the hypnotic powers of the medicine men, even in war. If this is the case, the preoccupation with this type of performance in the Deer Dance ceremony can better be appreciated.

The long series of illusionist feats and hypnotic exercises, however, was carried on within a characteristically complex Pawnee ceremonial structure.

In the first five nights of performance, during each night there was an earlier session of sleight-of-hand performances, followed by a "fight-

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796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
• 787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
[821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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SORCERY

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The Vision of a Poor Boy, Small—His Fate—Rivalry between Old Bull and Behaille—Male and Female "Witched" Members of the Community—Suspicions of Witchcraft in Sexual Affairs—Connection to "Fighting" in Doctor Performances—Fee-Splitting Ventures—Causes of Disease Regarded as Anxiety and Hostility—Interpersonal Hostility in the Community—Deadly Witch Missiles—the Treatment

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RIVALRY AND HATRED as well as love and community were as much a part of Pawnee life as of our own, and the animal lore of a doctor could be turned to ill as well as to good. In many cases the original dream vision of the future doctor consisted of being taken to an animal lodge under the water where the animals sat in council and judged the visionary. Others were terrestrial or cosmic, but the lodge under water was a common one. Such a vision came to a poor boy named Small (*Patsaa*) when he was about twelve years old. The Pawnee were [131] living near Fremont, Nebraska, in the village they occupied just before [175] going onto the reservation. It must have been around 1850. The Pawnee name of the animal lodge settlement was Pa-ha-ku, "hill-in water-sitting"; it was located near the edge of a rather sheer bluff on the south side of the Platte River. The animal lodge was thought to be located somewhere under water in the side of the cliff and it was reliably attested that lights were seen and noises heard in this location. It was also said that the wind was sometimes so strong there, that attempts to examine the spot closely were always foiled:

> Right on the sheer bluff of the high bank was a cedar tree. This is the doorway to the animal lodge of Pahaku. Sitting on the tree are

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all sorts of birds—particularly eagles—black, bald, spotted and also the chicken hawk. White people say it is that way yet. They say the wind is too strong there so that when you want to look, it pushes you back. At this bank, right under water is a big fish, the *tawakiiks*. In the night, one can hear drumming and sparks fly right on top of the water. This fish opens its mouth and one can see fire come out. This is Pahaku, the animal lodge. 787 773

Small was a poor boy who served in the household of an influential man, hauling water, helping with the household tasks, and tending the horses in return for his keep. One day he was lying at the edge of the bluff under a tree with his bow and arrows, hoping to catch some birds to eat. His friend, Old Bull, who was the son and heir of an influential chief, came along and joined Small and since there was a cool, pleasant breeze blowing, they fell asleep. When he woke up Small was gone and so Old Bull went home, thinking that Small had awakened before him and gone to his lodge. 787

But Small was on quite a different mission. While they were lying there, he had had a vision and had gone to the animal lodge. The animals had taken him in. When he awoke he was sitting east of the fireplace with his bow and arrows. There were different kinds of animals all around. Near the door was a big snake. Near the altar at the west was a Scalped Man, Kitsahuruksu, who was the boss of them all. He addressed Small saying, "Nawa, greetings, now I leave you to the animals. Now you fellows sitting around here—you brought him in. What are you going to do with him?" At the northeast near the cedar tree was the bear who said, "Let's eat him up." The rest of the animals laughed, but the weasel chimed in, from his seat at the northwest, "That's right. We'd better eat him up right away." Then the big snake at the southeast side of the door said, "He's right. We'd better try to eat him up."

But the elk (moose, *pax*) at the southwest said, "Now you wait. Since you folks could eat him and I can't, I have something to say. I'm the one that supports him and helps him to live." Just as he got through talking, someone about halfway south, the Beaver, spoke up. "He's right. I can't eat him either. I also support him and help him live." Near the southeast the reindeer said the same thing. He also added, "You folks don't try to do anything to help him stay alive. You just want to eat him up. Right now I'm going to allow Scalped-Man to decide what should be done since we disagree." They all said, "Nawa!" Several on each side had spoken up. Now reindeer said, "Who brought him in?" But everyone was silent for no one was willing to admit to having done it. So the Scalped-Man was given the problem of deciding.

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• 787 He said, "All the animals know how we have to depend on our two errand men. We send them long distances traveling on our errands and they get tired because of it. They work so hard for us that it is only right that we give them the right to decide. Now you two errand men, you can go outside and make a decision." The two went out. They were duck (*kiwakski*) and a bluish bird with a wide stripe around its neck (*kis-katararaxka*, "neck-stripe around-upon"). Meanwhile everyone inside the lodge was getting impatient. Snake mumbled, "I want to eat him up."

Outside the lodge the two errand men were discussing what the boy's fate should be. One said, "He just went out hunting birds to get something for himself to eat and now they brought him in here and want to kill him. I don't think that's right. Now that they brought him in, let's take pity on him and teach him something. Let's reveal the nature of the animals to him." Said duck, "I guess I do have to take care of him. He kills me when he is hungry, but when I want him to starve I can very well fly off, for I know when he is coming. I think I must do something for him."

With this decision, they went back into the lodge and Striped-Neck spoke up first. He pointed out that the boy had gone out intending to kills birds in order to get something to eat. At this point Small was frightened as he thought they would surely kill him for it was Striped-Neck he originally intended to hunt for. But the bird pointed out that as he was a bird that was always along the edge of the creek, he could go into the water and escape so that the boy would be unable to kill him if he himself were unwilling. "Now I'm going to leave it to this fellow, Duck, to decide."

Now duck got up and addressed the group. "Now Boss, bears, weasels, snake, elk, beaver, and reindeer, I have decided this about this fellow here: Today when you brought him, he had no thought about the fact that we also like to live. But still this fellow was hunting up the creek because he was hungry. Right now, he's starving. He has nothing to eat. Let's take pity on him instead of eating him up. After he gets out of here, if we help him, he can tell people that we treated him kindly and they might have respect for us. So now let's do something for him. When you send me way off on your errands, I get tired sometimes. Now in return, I am asking you to do as I suggest. Let's bless him."

For four nights the animals put on a sleight-of-hand performance, and each animal taught the boy a different way. After all had performed, the mole told of his power: "If a man is sitting there, I could come up through the ground and hit him from underneath so that all his insides bounce up and kill him right there." The weasel said, "While he's looking at me, I can eat up a man's liver and other entrails

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so that he falls over." In this way Small came to know that these two were bad animals and because of what he had learned about them, he was also able to practice sorcery, as well as to cure sickness. 787

Being friends and small boys together, Small gave freely whatever knowledge he had to Old Bull. Small never lived to carry out the mandate of his vision, but Old Bull did. One day while Small was out tending the horses of the man he served, the Sioux came and took all the horses, shooting Small in the abdomen. He begged his sponsor to throw him in the water so that he could be healed through the animal lodge, but his sponsor, who was very angry because of the loss of all his property, refused to do as Small requested. He cared nothing for the poor boy who was his servant, and having disregarded the boy's request, Small died of his wounds. People felt that the man had been short-sighted as well as cruel. If he had allowed the boy to avail himself of his supernatural powers, he would have been cured of his wounds and grown up to go on the warpath and gotten horses for his sponsor. By being mean, people said, the sponsor had lost everything.

Old Bull grew up and became a prominent man with his teachings. He was the son of a chief, as well, and readily got a place in the chiefs' council. There came a time when the chiefs decided to include in their council the official interpreter of the United States Agency, Behaille, who was of Spanish, French, and Pawnee descent. No doubt this was a politic move, but Old Bull was not satisfied. In the council he referred scornfully to Behaille as "the Mexican." Behaille was not unaware of his hostility and opposition. When they went out on the buffalo hunt and arrived near Grand Island, Behaille stopped off at a small town and drank some whisky, which he immediately vomited up. He thought that he recognized what he had brought up, viz., a witch pellet of a bundle of buffalo hair painted red and containing the sole skin of a corpse's foot. He said, "I know who the sorcerer is. It is Old Bull. Throw the pellet in the fire and burn it up so that it can do no further harm." Then Behaille decided on a further course of action: 754

Next day he asked his wife to make grease bread and coffee and invited several of the chiefs to his house for an informal feast, including Old Bull. When they had all come in, Behaille said, "Now I want you to eat this food. Old Bull, I don't want you to do that again! You tried to witch me and you nearly killed me." Old Bull was ashamed and he just hung his head. As they went out after the feast, people said, "This feast was given because Old Bull witched Behaille. Some fellow would remark, "Well, so Old Bull wanted to witch the Mexican!"

Of course, we don't know how many people he had witched before this, or whether there were any, but now that he was exposed, he

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not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.) 000

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women. 462 251 462 171

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9. 000

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people." 342 772

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it. 796 535 787 82 157 82 72 114 821

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp. 172 251

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80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

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80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

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80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

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83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

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